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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

MINISTER REPORTS ON HEALTH CARE

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Aug 83 pp 1, 3

[Report given by Minister of Public Health Academician Radoy Popivanov; text is abbreviated version of his report; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrades,

As is well known, our party has always taken into account the great importance of quality in the material as well as the non-material spheres. Presently, however, the Central Committee raises these questions with a special concern and keenness. This is so because of a great contradiction that has begun to appear more and more broadly in our social and economic development--the contradiction between the insufficient pace of improving quality and the high requirements of building mature socialism.

In his remarkable speech of 30 May of this year, at the conference held in Varna, Comrade Todor Zhivkov thoroughly examined the enormous economic importance of quality, both at home and abroad, its extremely important social, ideological, and political importance; he analyzed the general causes of failures in this area and outlined the strategy for avoiding them. He gave the basis and set the tasks for all the people and the party in preparing for the forthcoming National Party Conference devoted to the problems of quality.

In connection with this preparation, it is necessary to take into account some basic considerations that are extremely important to us.

/First of all, the party's call for high quality concerns the area of health care as well./ As we know, health care has become more and more closely related to the national economic complex, we can even say that it has become part of it. In one of his recent lectures at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management at the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Comrade Todor Zhivkov noted that "life, our experience, convince us that production activity and its results depend more and more today on the activity of other social spheres...These activities become more and more important in improving the personal element of productive forces." That is why improving the quality of health care should be considered not only

fulfilling a supreme duty that results from the profound humanism of our regime, but also accomplishing a task related to the realization of the party's overall policy and strategy for building mature socialism.

/Second,/ the problems of improving the quality of health care should be /solved simultaneously with the increased concern for developing health services and overcoming the consequences that have resulted from unfavorable natural phenomena/ which struck Bulgaria recently.

As is known, in executing the decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress for general satisfaction of the constantly increasing material, intellectual, and social needs of the people, the Council of Ministers, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, and the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions adopted a joint decree "for further development of the system for comprehensive social services among the population."

Carrying out this decree requires a thorough improvement in the organization of labor and forms of health services for the population. In addition, with the help of the people's councils and economic organizations, the network of health units should be further expanded, in order to provide more direct medical services at work locations and at home residences. Thus, health care will be in even closer contact with the people, a greater degree of satisfying their health needs will be provided.

The development of the health care network in itself and bringing medical services closer to the workers' collectives unconditionally contain an element of higher quality. However, the present task of health organizations does not end with opening new health units. It is necessary, from the very start, that the activity of these units should be carried out according to high requirements, that from the very start, they should join in the struggle for high quality, which is being developed by the health organizations.

/Third, it is urgent that we take measures for improving the quality of health services./ There are fewer than 7 months left before the party's National Conference, and we must go there with clarified theoretical positions, practical programs and, what is more important, with real results for solving the problems of quality.

All of this shows that, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has pointed out, "there is no time for waiting, for any delay...We ought to start working right now."

/The task of organizing a nationwide review and a critical analysis of quality/, with the participation of the direct leaders and under the control of the party's organizations, stands out in relation to the necessity for an urgent mobilization of the collectives. In the process of reviewing, the causes for failures with regard to quality should be found and measures should be taken for their elimination.

It is appropriate to emphasize here that the /struggle for high quality is a task that develops constantly and is not a temporary action./ That is why the review of quality ought to be organized so that it carries forward

the work in this direction on a larger and larger scale, and does not stimulate a short-term campaign.

Comrades,

We have to say frankly that the question of improving quality in the sphere of health services has not been raised for the first time. Within the broad spectrum of measures developed and implemented by the ministry's collective and by the whole health care network for fulfilling the decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress and the tasks which result from the theoretical formulations and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress, special attention and concern were devoted to improving the quality of health care activity. A number of questions with respect to quality were developed at the national conferences of health personnel in February 1982 and 1983. /As a result of the correctly directed efforts and the concrete activity of the collectives, positive changes have occurred in the quality of work in a number of health care branches and in numerous health institutions./ With the help of the Academy of Medicine, contemporary diagnostic and medical methods have been introduced and are constantly being adopted. Equipping health institutions with modern apparatuses and technology is being carried out at a considerably faster pace. The care of ill persons in hospitals is being improved. Positive changes have occurred in dental care and provision of medications.

/The favorable trends in the dynamics of important indices/ are an expression of improved quality of work--infant mortality, illnesses that result in temporary and permanent disability, a decrease in the sick rate of some contagious illnesses, an increase in the number of industrial, children's, health, and other facilities, in compliance with the hygienic norms, etc.

All this shows that significant, positive results are evident, compared to the previous 5-year plans and the beginning of the current one. However, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out at the conference in Varna, the results from previous stages should not be /a measure for evaluating quality, but rather "the peaks in worldwide scientific and technical progress, the achievements of developed countries."/ If we consider these points of view, and we ought to do so, we would have to admit that the rate of improving the quality of health care is far from being satisfactory for us; it does not correspond to the resources and means available to us.

If we analyze the level of certain indices related to the conditions in health care, we will find out that it does not completely match the stage of social and economic development of our country and the potentials of our health care. We can take as an example the mortality rate among certain age groups--infant mortality (despite its decrease), the mortality rate of other infant age groups, as well as in some active age groups.

We should understand well that the still unsatisfactory indices in the death rate among the infantile contingent in Bulgaria are mostly related to the insufficient quality of infant health care. It is already time to stop blaming the demographic situation in some okrugs for this. How could we

explain that in Vidin the infant mortality rate has been reduced to 14.8 per thousand, in Silistra--14.0 per thousand, whereas in Mikhaylovgrad it is 23.8 and in Burgas 23.0 per thousand. Evidently the reasons for this are not found in the differences in the demographic situations in these okrugs, but in the conditions of infant health care.

In this respect, insufficient systematization and the unsatisfactory quality of methodic and consultative aid on the part of the okrug and rayon pediatricians are indicative. Their help and control are extremely important, especially for the villages, where infant health care, for the most part, is carried out by health officers and other intermediate medical personnel. The solution of the question of methodic activity at the okrug and rayon level is pressing, especially in the Kurdzhali, Sliven, Tolbukhin, and some other okrugs, where it is clearly perceived. The significant oversights allowed in children's clinics (such as, for example, in the Razgrad, Shumen, Kurdzhali, Burgas and other okrugs), which ought to be immediately eliminated, are also reason for this. Insufficient activity in locating, observing, and hospitalizing children at great medical and social risk, especially in the okrugs of Kyustendil, Gabrovo, Smolyan, and in the city of Sofia, should be overcome unhesitatingly as well.

These and a number of other unsolved problems of infant health care unfavorably affect the level of mortality among children and their health condition in general.

It is time to make a decisive break with the existing reassurance of the gradually improving indices of children's health. We should not be satisfied with the trend noted in decreased mortality among children and control of some diseases. The landmarks of our work are clear: /the best achievement in the most developed countries./ These are the goals toward which we should strive and which we should attain, by stages, though at the highest pace.

We should not reassure ourselves either with the improved indices related to the health conditions of pregnant women and mothers. The work of women's advisory consultations in the Smolyan, Khaskovo, Plovdiv and other okrugs, in which stillborn deliveries remain above the average in the country, is not satisfactory. Early checkups for pregnant women in these women's consultations in the Burgas, Shumen, Ruse, and other okrugs are not sufficient. The prevention of serious gynecological complications in the Smolyan, Lovech, Vratsa okrugs is not satisfactory.

Lately, an increase in /the death rate among the people between the age of 40 and 59/ has been noticed; this is mostly among the village population.

/This requires, obviously, serious and active measures for improving the quality all along the chain of rural health care; in addition, strengthening the ambulatory and polyclinic services in the villages, decisive improvement in first aid, and active prevention of socially significant diseases, require special attention./

The analysis of the causes of deaths among the population is also a matter of concern.

/The death rate due to heart disease/ in our country is higher than in many developed countries. In this connection, as has been repeatedly pointed out, special attention should be devoted to ischemical heart disease and encephalitis.

Although the death rate due to heart ischemia has shown a decreasing tendency during the last few years, it continues to represent a serious problem. We cannot help but be worried by the considerably higher than average mortality due to heart attacks in the Sliven, Pernik, Kyustendil, Turgovishte, Burgas, and other okrugs.

There are unresolved problems in Bulgaria with regard to encephalitis. During the past years it was the primary causes of death, leaving heart attacks and cancer behind.

We cannot be satisfied by the quality of certain kinds of oncological aid. The increasing incidence of cancer of the rectum, prostate gland, and especially mammary glands and the uterus raise a justified alarm.

The early diagnosis of a number of cancer locations is not satisfactory, and during the last 3 years it has barely improved at all. It applies to locations which are difficult to diagnose (lungs, stomach) as well as to locations easier to diagnose and whose early treatment is more efficient (mammary glands, larynx, rectum). The reason for this is most of all because of insufficient oncological specialization and training of personnel from the general medical and preventative network, and the ineffective systematic aid on the part of oncological departments.

/The inadequate effectiveness of the struggle against heart disease, oncological and other socially significant diseases is due mostly to the unsatisfactory quality of the clinics' work./ There is an ongoing reckoning of the percentage increase in clinically observed patients without considering and analyzing the quality of the clinical activities conducted--active diagnosis, observation, treatment, and broad social prevention. In order to fight socially significant diseases effectively, it is necessary first of all to improve the quality of the whole chain of clinical activity and /especially early diagnosis and timely treatment of the people diagnosed as ill./

All of this requires a /radical re-evaluation of the whole clinical system:/ of the organization and forms of early diagnosis of illnesses, their timely treatment, systematic observation and cure, rehabilitation, and the whole complex of necessary medical and social activities (vocational rehabilitation, dietary nourishment, and others).

We cannot ignore some other illnesses, whose spread is disturbing. The indicator of deaths /caused by pneumonia/, for example, is less favorable in Bulgaria than in some other countries. This should not be permitted, bearing in mind the modern potentials of medical services. We have national, and we have okrug specialists. But it would hardly be possible to indicate at least one okrug in which the okrug medical council would have been disturbed by this or by some other similar factors, where it would have analyzed them and would have actively sought the appropriate purposeful solutions.

We should not remain calm in relation to /infectious hepatitis/, whose frequency has significantly increased during recent years in our country as well. For the first time in 1982, the hepatitis virus held first place in the structure of intestinal diseases (43.4 percent). This unfavorable trend continues. This situation shows the existence of a number of flaws in the early diagnosis of disease and its treatment, in the quality of anti-epidemic, hygienic, and convalescent work.

Comrades,

The rates of improvement in /the quality of work in hospitals/, with regard to diagnosis and treatment, as well as care of the ill, are not satisfactory.

Let us take as an example the indices for the quality of /operations in surgical departments./ Deaths caused during operations by /intestinal blockage, perforated ulcers, and incarcerated hernias/ is considerably higher than in the Soviet Union.

There are good reasons for asking surgeon-specialists in Pleven, Kyustendil, Veliko Turnovo and Sliven why the death rate there from acute appendicitis is two and three times higher than the average for the country, whereas in Burgas, Vidin, Gabrovo, Ruse, Siliстра, and Tolbukhin, there is no operative death from this illness. Or ask the okrug surgeons in Tolbukhin, the city of Sofia, Mikhaylovgrad, Kurdzhali, Stara Zagora, Yambol, the Sofia okrug, Varna, Khaskovo, and Turgovishte why the death rate there during operations on perforated ulcers is considerably higher than the average in the country, whereas in Vidin, Gabrovo, Kyustendil, and Ruse, there are none? We could give similar examples in operations on incarcerated hernias and ileus. The reason why I speak about these illnesses is that contemporary medicine allows us to overcome them, and this possibility has not always been utilized, obviously, for improving the quality of surgery.

/In-hospital infections/ are another indicator of unsatisfactory quality of work in hospitals. Although during the last 2 or 3 years they have decreased, they continue to be a serious health problem.

It is time to set ourselves the task of preventing in-hospital infections from happening. The fight against in-hospital infections requires most of all strict order and discipline, impeccable hygiene, high vigilance, and single-minded attention on the part of all hospital collectives.

In relation to improving the quality of hospital care, the /care for the sick/ should be increased sharply. It is expected that, toward the end of this year, two-stage care will be implemented in 82.9 percent of the okrug people's councils' bedspace fund. However, it is necessary to pay attention to two things even now: first of all--the two-stage care for the sick during the second shift is inadequate; secondly--there is formalism in organizing and accounting for the two-stage service in many places. Prior to the National Party Conference, two-stage service should become the basic style of work in all hospitals, by paying special attention to patients in the pediatric, surgical, and obstetric-gynecological departments, the bed-ridden and

seriously ill patients; this should be done at all times around the clock and during all work shifts. With regard to hospital care, we must ask ourselves how long we will continue to speak only about the insufficient use of the bed-space fund and do nothing decisive in practice. This relates most of all to the okrug hospitals in Vidin, Gabrovo, Kyustendil, Pernik, Sliven, Smolyan, Sofia, Vratsa, and Turgovishte, to rayon hospitals in these okrugs: Vratsa, Lovech, Razgrad, Sliven, and others, to beds for surgery in rayon hospitals in the Ruse, Shumen, and other okrugs, to pediatric beds in the rayon hospitals in the Varna, Pernik, Yambol, and other okrugs.

Periodic analyses of this bed-space fund have always come to the basic conclusion that the structural profile of the bed-space fund does not correspond to the needs and that this lack of correspondence results in higher than normal use of some beds, and lower than normal use of others. In this regard, the same resolutions are made to restructure the bed-space fund, to bring its structure into correspondence with the needs and with the requirements for rational use of health resources, but these do not go far enough.

It is high time for the Directorate of Medical Services for the population at the Ministry and the okrug directorates of Public Health and Social Welfare to take decisive measures, bringing the available bed-space fund into complete correspondence with the needs of the population, in order to ensure maximum quality in satisfying the needs of the people in the okrug.

An inseparable part of the concerns about improving the effectiveness of hospital care is raising the quality of /balneo-therapy sanatorium treatment./ Here we must expedite the resolution of a number of problems linked to weaknesses in the dietary and rational nourishment (sanatorium resort complexes in Bankya, Momin prokhod, and Sapareva banya), regulating the admission of patients (Velingrad, Vurshets, Sandanski, and Pavel banya), improving diagnostic treatment work (Sliven mineral baths, Ovcha mogila), raising the level of treatment in pensions to that of the sanatoria. It is time to find the solution to the question of the correct selection and preparation of the patients who are sent for sanatorium treatment and rehabilitation, since experience so far shows that 20 percent of them go for the wrong purpose and are unprepared. We cannot tolerate delay in dealing with the problem of programming an accelerated realization of a whole range of measures for the maximal use of resort resources in our country, for the health needs of Bulgarian citizens.

Comrades,

Together with the immediate concerns about raising the quality in various branches of health care, it is necessary to take broad and concrete measures for executing the tasks derived from the decree of the Council of Ministers, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade-Unions /"For further development of the system for comprehensive social service of the population."/

The tasks related to the improvement of the entire medical service have been developed and programmed after the Twelfth Party Congress and the October Conference. We all know about them, their fulfillment is in progress. If

we now speak about them again it is because their fulfillment is not always accompanied by the required quality and pace, and because the decree of the Council of Ministers has set considerably higher requirements.

Among these requirements, the question of maximal /proximity of the medical service to the population/ occupies an exceptionally important place. This means that, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has pointed out in one of his lectures at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, "we should shift the center of significance in health care work to where millions of people are gathered--in factories, enterprises, scientific organizations, institutes, and so forth. Would it not be better," he points out, "for us to create genuine 'health departments' precisely there?"

In this respect, we ought to note that the /development of the district network in the cities/ is proceeding at an unjustifiably slow pace. In 1982, the number of therapeutic districts has increased, but only by 2, pediatric by 20, and obstetric-gynecological by 10. The conditions of the rural health network is also unsatisfactory in this respect. Toward the middle of the current year, there have been 211 vacancies for doctors in the rural medical and prophylactic institutions, which constitutes about 25 percent of all doctor vacancies in the country. And of the 140 vacancies for dentists in the whole country, 97 were in the villages. Evidently, the first and most immediate measure is to find resources for an accelerated expansion of the district network in the cities (especially of therapeutic districts) and, together with the economic organizations, to establish departmental sections in the enterprises. In addition, /medical personnel should be directed primarily to the forefront of health care, especially in the villages./ It is high time to take effective measures for /stabilizing personnel/, for their favorable living conditions, and especially for the improvement of their training, and chiefly in regard to first aid, socially significant diseases, and geriatrics. Even before the end of this year, we need to resolve the question of /creating a specialization in general medicine/, which will inevitably lead to improvement of training, as well as to the retention of doctors in rural and urban districts.

Further improvement in the quality of health care for the rural populace requires the establishment of new clinics of the fourth and fifth types, /expansion of the mobile forms of medical services for the sparsely populated areas/, creation of conditions for conducting basic laboratory analyses in the rural medical health centers, equipping them with cardiographs, as well as further improvement of specialized medical care. Toward the end of 1984, pharmaceutical units should be established in the constituent villages with populations of over 1000.

Further improvement in the whole system for /first aid and immediate medical care/, which covers even the most distant villages, is an extremely important task, which is linked to the measures taken for improving the quality of medical services and care for the patients.

The treatment of patients /at home/ should be organized on an even larger and more purposeful basis, as an objective necessity in developing the forefront of health care.

/The shortcomings in dental care/ are being overcome slowly. Much has been said and many decisions have been made to shorten the waiting time for receiving orthopedic care. It is true that in the dental clinics in a number of okrugs, such as Burgas, Plovdiv, Veliko Turnovo, there is already a tendency for shortening these waiting periods. In the rest of the okrugs, however, and particularly in the rural dental network, we still do not see the necessary measures for resolving this question, which creates, with good reason, dissatisfaction among citizens.

We cannot help noting that during recent years a number of efficient methods for installing dentures have been introduced. They have essential importance for improving the quality of dental care. It seems, however, that not all leaders are touched by this question to the same degree. How could it be explained otherwise, except that in some okrugs (Yambol, Silistra) these methods are already being applied in over 60 percent of the cases treated, whereas in Kyustendil, Paradzhik, Sofia, and other okrugs, in less than 20 percent of the cases.

We cannot be satisfied with the preventive activity of dental services. Sanitation measures for workers, especially in Silistra, Blagoevgrad, Sliven, Khaskovo, and other okrugs, falls behind what was planned. Fluoridation for cavity prevention in children and students in Shumen, Silistra, Veliko Turnovo, and other okrugs, also falls behind.

The slow improvement in the quality of dental care is due most of all to subjective reasons--insufficient organizational work, weak control on the part of okrug specialists, inertia in spreading the foremost experience, underestimation of the concern for training stomatologists and dental technicians.

When we speak about overcoming the shortcomings in the forefront of health care, we cannot help pointing out that although there are some indisputable achievements, the question of efficient /regulation of the admission of patients, especially in the villages/, has not yet been solved. Such examples can be found in the Smolyan and Kurdzhali okrugs, in the Sevliev rayon of Gabrovo okrug, and in a number of other places. It is impermissible to put off examining patients for several days after they have presented themselves, as is the case in the Tolbukhin okrug, the city of Levski in Pleven okrug, and elsewhere.

It is high time not only to overcome these shortcomings in the fastest possible way, but to introduce schedules in the outpatient and clinical institutions that are most convenient for the citizens and which provide adequate medical care on Saturdays as well.

Comrades,

There are serious problems with regard to /quality in the area of hygiene and epidemiological activity./

First of all, effective measures are needed for a sharp improvement in the competence and requirements of hygiene and epidemiological control. This is

an extremely important branch of prevention on whose efficiency depend, to a great extent, the health conditions of the population. There are clear formulations about it in the resolutions of the Twelfth Party Congress.

From the point of view of these formulations, we have no reason to be completely content with the conditions of sanitary control, where there are many failures and unresolved questions. For example, the requirements for control of work hygiene in the Mikhaylovgrad and Silistra okrugs, community hygiene in the capital, and in the Smolyan, Blagoevgrad, and Mikhaylovgrad okrugs, children and teen-age hygiene in the Blagoevgrad and Khaskovo okrugs, have been lowered. There is no excuse for the low level of organization in anti-epidemic control in Sofia, Vratsa, Blagoevgrad, Pernik, and Shumen okrugs.

In many cases, conducting hygiene and epidemiological control suffers from formalism. The Ministry of Public Health has not yet found effective criteria and indices for its evaluation. The quantitative indices (for number of checkups, inquiries, and laboratory analyses) give an idea about the activity in this respect, but not about the results. The indices introduced for qualitative evaluation, "number of sites set according to the hygienic requirements," is rather general, too. It is not possible to compare such industrial sites as the Leonid Brezhnev metallurgical combine with the workshop of some labor productive cooperative in which three to four people are working. It is also not possible to compare an okrug hospital that has 1000 beds with a rural clinic. It is clear that formulated and examined in such a way, this index directs the hygiene-epidemiological office to restore a large number of small sites, rather than solving the problems in a significant large-scale national site. It is obvious that we should start talking, not about facilities, but places of work, which are set according to the hygiene norms.

The big questions about raising the quality of hygiene and epidemiological control is mostly related to raising the quality requirement. There is not enough persistence in urging economic organizations to strengthen their administrative control. It is necessary to make a complete break with the liberal attitude toward the violations of hygiene requirements by using all the power of the existing rights and legislative decisions.

/It is already time that the hygiene and epidemiological control should be oriented more toward finding ways to prevent causes of failures./ Health leaders should start worrying about whether the okrug hygiene and epidemiological inspections are sufficiently well acquainted and are able to evaluate those "hot" spots, those food, communal, children's, educational, production, and other sites which have the highest risk of health hazards, whether effective measures are being taken for their sanitation, whether their conditions are constantly being observed. Current hygiene control should stop following events, it should rather anticipate them--this is a guarantee of its quality and effectiveness.

Conducting hygiene and epidemiological control should make a complete break with conventionality and formalism with even greater urgency. It is necessary

to plan and to organize its topical purpose, its complexity, its intensity and range, by also taking into consideration the national economic and social significance of the sites and their hygienic conditions.

It is necessary to implement, at accelerated rates, scientific and technical progress, the projection of indices, and the results from the control activity into the sphere of hygiene and epidemiological control. We must overcome the still slow introduction of quick methods for evaluation of the environment and the epidemiological situation.

The disclosure of /the relationship between the health condition of the people and the condition of the environment/ is extremely important for the quality of all health care activity. This requires the closest interaction between the hygiene-epidemiological and the medical-preventative networks. The leadership and the collectives of the medical-preventative institutions should seek the etiological link between mass local pathology and the environmental factors which will help them to find a number of ways for improving the quality of out-patient treatment and the entire diagnostic and medical activity. /The hygiene-epidemiological inspectorates should direct their activity toward interaction with the medical and preventative institutions, toward seeking and eliminating those causes in the environment that have a decisive impact on the mass pathology among the populace./ However, such interaction and such concrete disclosure of the mechanisms of the relationship between pathology among the population and the peculiarities of the environment are not quite yet the style of working in our health care practice. /This is an important strategical question about our health care, which ought to be thoroughly examined and boldly resolved within the process of development and improvement of outpatient treatment./

Comrades,

At the present conference, we do not set ourselves the task of either accounting for our achievements or examining all the problems in health care. Our main goal is to understand and be /profoundly aware that the struggle going on at the present time for high quality in all health care activities has decisive importance for further improvement in health care for the people/, that all the forces and resources of our health care should be directed precisely toward this struggle.

The analysis of the reasons for inadequate quality in the area of health services reveals the existence of a number of weaknesses and unsolved questions in the activity of our leadership and in practice.

First of all--/there is insufficient organizational and control activity/ at all levels, including as well the Ministry of Public Health. We have in mind the inadequate efficiency and control in fulfilling the adopted decisions and the counterplans, the unsatisfactory level of labor, production, technological, and hierarchical discipline, the still minimized responsibility on the part of the health managers.

The Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union are still debtors in connection with the establishment

of /criteria and indices for planning management and evaluation of quality/, with overcoming /superfluous bookishness/, with efficient labor organization of health workers and socialist competition, and other areas. At many places, there is no search for and use of /moral and material incentives/ for stimulating the health workers' creativity. In practice, /certifying health workers/ is carried out formally, to a great extent, and it does not help to evaluate their actual contribution to the work in the health institution.

Another reason which negatively affects the quality of health care is the incomplete resolution of questions related to the /training of medical personnel/. Despite the high theoretical level of their training, graduate and undergraduate medical personnel in Bulgaria, by and large, enter the health care network (and mostly in the forefront) with inadequate practical experience. This leads to restrictions of their horizons, to a trend toward playing it safe, and, ultimately, to low quality of work. The focus of training during the process of their professional activity are not sufficiently used--clinical pathology, clinical x-raying, and clinical laboratory meetings, collegia, and other familiar forms as well. Not enough attention is being paid to post-graduate training of undergraduate medical personnel.

An important reason is also /the insufficient activity and extent of implementing scientific achievements, the best workers' experience, and using technical progress in health care./ We have not yet built a complete operating system for broad propagation of scientific achievements and their expedient implementation at all levels of health care. /The scientific medical information/, as well as /the activity of national, okrug, and rayon specialists/ are not sufficiently systematic. There is an apparent formalism in planning and realizing /organizational and systematic activity./ For example, in Yambol and Mikhaylovgrad okrugs, implementation of efficient neurosurgical methods has been planned without having specialized personnel available; in Turgovishte and in the First Workers Hospital in Sofia, diagnostic methods have to be introduced without providing the proper apparatus and reagents, and so forth. In many cases, systematic activity has not been coordinated with the condition of the work in the respective units and the training of the local specialists. Inadequate usage of available medical equipment has been established in carrying out organizational and systematic activity. Thus, the laparoscope in Vidin, Makhaylovgrad, Kyustendil, and Pernik is not being used, and in Ruse, Razgrad, Yambol, and other okrugs, not used enough; the sonograph in Ruse and Razgrad is used only for obstetric-gynecological diagnosis.

The recommendations of the system chiefs are often undervalued. /Innovative initiatives/ often stumble across routine, misunderstanding, and primitive thinking. For instance, out of 23 inventions and innovations to have been broadly implemented in 1982, only 12 have been implemented.

All of these reasons are important, and together with a number of other shortcomings, are seriously impeding the process of improving the quality of work within the system of our health care. That is why /the main and irrevocable task at the present time is to strengthen the efforts of all the

health workers collectives to overcome decisively, within the shortest period of time, these reasons and shortcomings and achieve high actual results in the quality of health care in all directions./

Before the National Party Conference we have to solve the questions of efficiently organizing admissions at outpatient and clinical institutions, an overall implementation of two-stage service and complete improvement of the care of patients, a sharp decrease in the time period for dental treatment and receiving dentures, a rapid strengthening of organizational and systematic care, adequate use of the available medical apparatus and equipment, a decisive increase in the requirements for hygiene and epidemiological control, development of criteria and indices for evaluating the quality of health care activities.

For that purpose, the party gives us the strategy and methodology of /state and public review of quality./ This review ought /to reveal and demonstrate, not our achievement, but the concrete reasons which hinder or worsen the quality of health care and social welfare/. That is why we should understand well the purpose of this review, its active and stimulating nature. Extreme efficiency and operativeness should be exercised during the review. Questions that can be resolved right away should be resolved on the spot. Questions that cannot be resolved right away should be planned for the next period.

/Now there is no more important task for the directorates and the leadership of health institutions and institutions for social welfare than immediately organizing and thoroughly carrying out the state and public review of quality./ In the health institutions, it should be realized with the active assistance and cooperation of the Public Health and Social Welfare Directorate, the okrug and rayon specialists and the Okoliya Committees of the Health Workers Trade Union. The review should give answers to the questions of executing the hitherto existing measures and decisions, to the instructions given to the February Conferences last year and this year, to the basic goals and tasks of health care which are planned for the current year, in a word--to those tasks which are planned in connection with fulfilling the resolutions of the Twelfth Party Congress and in which significant space is devoted to the problems of quality.

It is necessary that these reviews of quality be used to create, among health care collectives, the spirit and striving toward higher quality work, the cult of quality, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed it at the Varna Conference. In this respect, it is necessary to carry out unremitting, daily explanatory work among the health collectives, to use the high authority of the trade union and Komsomol organizations, to expand the application of moral stimuli, to use the fullest possibilities for an economic approach, to seek the cooperation of party organizations. During the time of the review, it is necessary to take immediate measures for rapidly increasing the level of organizational work in all health institutions, for improving the organization of work, for strengthening control and exactitude, for increasing the responsibility of those executing the actions.

An extremely important condition for raising the quality of all our activities is organizing a complex of measures with the closest cooperation of trade union and Komsomol organizations, for strengthening discipline. This requires that every health institution should create an atmosphere of intolerance toward those who violate order and the production process, those who are negligent and irresponsible, all those who, in one way or another, hinder the health workers in their common efforts to fulfill, honorably, their professional duty, to strive for higher quality and efficiency in their work, to raise, by their deeds, the authority of the socialist health worker. Not a single case of uncivil and callous attitude toward patients should remain unnoticed and unpunished.

During the time of the review, a radical improvement of the style and methods of work and management should become noticeable. There are no unclear tasks in this regard, there are only unfulfilled tasks. It is now necessary that the Public Health and Social Welfare Directorates, the leadership of the health institutions and corresponding trade union organs and organizations seek, stimulate, and support all useful initiatives for improving quality. Serious attention should be devoted to the following initiatives--introducing a day of quality in weekly schedules, organizing trade union and Komsomol posts for overseeing quality, developing forms for self-control and public control of quality. In the process of the review, and during the whole period prior to the conference, other similar initiatives will likely appear. In this regard, the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries ought to be broadly applied. It is important that all useful undertakings and initiatives be given a wide path for development.

In addition to this, /it is necessary that the dialogue of the okrug directorates and health institutions with the people's councils, with the public and economic organizations, become more nearly resultative. Their help in solving a number of problems should be sought more energetically--problems starting with studying the medical health needs of the population and the most effective ways to satisfy them, and to reach a resolution of the questions of improving the material and technical base of health institutions.

Comrades,

The task of improving the quality of health care is unquestionably a difficult one. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov has pointed out, /"we should create a social climate in which everyone should begin living with the problem of quality. High quality," he pointed out, "should be raised to cult status, in the literal and most sublime sense of the word."/

The leadership of the Ministry of Public Health, the Presidium of the Medical Academy, and the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union are totally certain that the leaders of all units of health care, medical science, and health collectives in the whole country greet, with complete understanding and profound awareness, the new decree of the party and will mobilize all their efforts and capabilities for carrying out a decisive

change in improving the quality of health care activity in all directions. They will prove to be worthy of their highly humane role, worthy of the trust which they are granted by the party, state, and people.

To work, dear colleagues! To work, under the slogan: each health worker, each collective, should greet the National Party Conference on quality with his or her own real contribution!

12334  
CSO: 2200/3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE REPORTS ON GOVERNMENT, TU CONSULTATIONS

LD142350 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] A joint meeting of the Presidium of the Federal Government and the Secretariat of the Central Trade Union Council was held in Prague today. The meeting was chaired by Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council Karel Hoffmann and Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal. Both sides were united in noting that the majority of tasks arising from the conclusions of the joint sessions held on 6 April and 19 May 1982 were basically fulfilled while the remaining ones are being tackled progressively.

With regard to the question of the state of the health service in Prague, the meeting took note of an information report that the situation would be discussed by the Czech Government in the immediate future. Both bodies will deal comprehensively with the issues concerning the environment next year.

The joint meeting also devoted its attention to the principal task of the development of the economy in the current year and to the preparation of plans for next year. The Presidium of the Federal Government and the Secretariat of the Central Trade Union Council assessed findings from the discussions and the fulfillment of the plan of the development of the national economy in the current year in the sense of the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium of 19 August this year and the preparation of the plan for 1984. The Presidium of the Federal Government, after acquainting itself with the plan of activity of the revolutionary trade union movement for 1984, instructed all ministers and heads of central bodies to assist in its implementation. The Presidium of the Federal Government and the Secretariat of the Central Trade Union Council furthermore paid tribute to the activity of the comprehensive and rationalization brigades, and in the interest of the equitable fulfillment of the state target programs for fuel, power and metals economies they agreed that the exceeding by 0.5 percent of the economies laid down should continue to be one of the principal directions of the development of working people's initiative. They recalled the necessity of fulfilling consistently the tasks of the first stage of raising the economic effectiveness of the wage system.

On the agenda of the working meeting were also questions of improvement of the quality of working people's welfare. With regard to the situation on the domestic market it was stated that it has been stabilized in the current year. Furthermore, specific conclusions were adopted on tackling social, accommodation and cultural problems on the nuclear power plants construction sites and on the other large construction sites.

CSO: 2400/51

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SEMINAR OUTLINES PARTY'S OBJECTIVES

AU011748 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Oct 83 p 2

["ED"-signed report: "On Current Tasks of the Party"]

[Text] A 3-day all-Slovak seminar of secretaries of CPSL, district committees in charge of political and organizational work and of heads of the political-organizational departments of CPSL regional committees and the CPSL Bratislava City Committee ended in Casta yesterday. It was attended by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Vladimir Trvala and Ladislav Sadovsky, heads of CPSL Central Committee departments; and Jaromir Johanes, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

In his statement, Comrade Jozef Lenart spoke about the tasks of party bodies and organizations after the Eighth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the September session of the CPSL Central Committee. He put special emphasis on the speedy application of the results of scientific-technical development in practice, on increasing the effectiveness of the application of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy, on intensifying international socialist economic integration, and on improving the efficiency and quality of production. He noted that the party's leading role must be deepened in the entire scientific-research base and that a greater use must be made of this broad base in formulating long-term concepts and forecasts, while fully respecting the laws of building an advanced socialist society. He underlines that party bodies and organizations play an irreplaceable role in this process.

Comrade Mikulas Beno spoke about tasks connected with the preparation of the party organizations' annual meetings, which are to be held in January and February next year. He stressed that these important deliberations will specify with greater detail the party organizations' tasks in the political-organizational, ideological, educational, and control activities ensuing from the Plans of Main Tasks Prior to the 17th Party Congress, which were approved by this year's annual members' meeting. From the beginning of the preparation of the annual meetings, it is necessary to establish an exacting and critical atmosphere. The deliberations must be lively and committed and they must be prepared in such a way that the communists know what will be discussed and what is expected of them. They must come to the meetings with their own views

and with suggestions on how they want to contribute themselves to the fulfillment of tasks. In the discussion, the participants in the seminar stressed the need to further improve internal party life, to comply with the Leninist principles and norms of the party's life and work, and to intensify the party's activity and ties with the working people, as a lasting and irreplaceable basis for the fulfillment of the tasks which the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress formulated for the present stage of our society's development.

CSO: 2400/51

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INDRA ON CSSR NATIONALITIES POLICY

LD231531 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 23 Oct 83

[*"Living Words"* given by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly--recorded]

[Text] Dear listeners, on 28 October we mark the emergence of the independent Czechoslovak state and the nationalization of key industries. To these events is worthily added the adoption of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation in 1968. This act represented a fundamentally new element in the existence of the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks. It was a significant milestone in the development of socialist democracy.

Yes, 15 years ago the program long ago planned by the CPCZ came to fruition, for the Communist Party was the sole political force that combined the class and social struggle throughout its existence with the effort to achieve a just settlement of the nationalities question. Particularly in the 1930's, a period of increased danger to the republic from Hitlerite Nazism, the party showed that regularization of relations between the nations and nationalities was the fundamental condition for the republic's strength and its further existence. It is testimony to the shortsightedness of the bourgeois politicians of the time that by the forced construction of so-called Czechoslovakism and by ignoring the importance of the position of the other nationalities, they added grist to the mill of Ludakist [derogatory term for separatist Slovak People's Party led by Dr Jozef Tiso and disbanded in 1945] separatism, Henleinist chauvinism, and Hungarian irredentism. The irony of fate then saw to it that this mistaken nationalities policy later served the purposes of the then allies and even the personal friends of the representatives of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie--all the Chamberlains and Daladiers--as some kind of apology for the Munich capitulation.

Throughout the national liberation struggle the CPCZ, its leadership in Moscow, and the illegal Central Committees at home adhered to the traditional Leninist line in their nationalities policy. The goal of the national democratic revolution was to overcome prewar conditions in this vitally important issue. It aimed to ensure that the liberated republic was a just one from class, social, and nationalities viewpoints, and that it was, in the best sense of the word, a good mother to all its sons and daughters. These ideals, the

ideals of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks which is fair where nationalities were concerned, was also emblazoned on the banners of the Slovak national uprising.

Then in April 1945, in Kosice, these same ideals emanated clearly from the lips of Klement Gottwald, in the so-called Magna Carta of the Slovak nation. In a speech made in Slovak at the festive rally of the Slovak National Council at that time, Comrade Gottwald said [Indra speaks in Slovak]: Putting an end to all the old quarrels, and proceeding from the recognition of the Slovaks as a nation of nationalities in its own right, the government will, from its very first steps, consistently strive to ensure that in Czech-Slovak relations, the principle of equal with equal prevails, and that in this way true brotherhood between both nations is advanced.

[Indra reverts to Czech] Those were the words of Comrade Gottwald. Nor was it in any way accidental that in their encounters with the reactionaries who were trying to turn back the course of history by putschist methods, the Slovak national bodies, as early as in autumn of 1947, played such a positive role. From the time when the struggle for the upper hand was decided in favor of the working class and the working people, from the Victorious February, a purposeful process of economic and cultural equalization of Slovakia with the Czech part of the republic was set in motion.

In the course of time, but from a historical point of view in an unbelievably short time, the injustices of the distant as well as the recent past, thanks to the considerable help of the Czech working class, were surmounted. Slovakia was proceeding along the path of an unprecedented economic, cultural and educational boom.

Among the mistakes stemming from the abandonment of the Leninist principles must be added the fact that at a time which was more than ripe for the consistent implementation of the principle of equal with equal, a limitation to the authority of the Slovak national bodies occurred. By this, unfortunately, caused opportunities to be lost for the all-round development of Slovakia in the interests of a unified Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to the detriment of the more rapid development of our whole society and in contradiction to the requirements of socialist democracy.

It is no secret that certain protagonists of the antisocialist forces at the end of the 1960's were trying to credit themselves with some kind of merit in propounding the idea of a federative solution. In this instance, as in a number of other matters, they adapted reality to their own vision. The truth is just the opposite, because a federative state arrangement in law became one of the outstanding tools of the successful surmounting of the social crisis, and it took the wind out of the sails of the reactionary chauvinists. It strengthened the resolve of the Czech and Slovak patriots and of the progressive forces of other nationalities in their effort to reinstate the fundamental values of socialist society.

Important though the organizational consequences of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation were, they were not, nor are they, a mere

formality. The crucial content of this law, a yardstick of reforms that were achieved, is the real position and practical activity of the federal and national legislative and executive organs. Our 15 years of experience are a clear testimony to the benefits of that decision.

Today there is no doubt that the fraternal nations, the Czechs and Slovaks, are genuinely equal, and that favorable conditions have been created for the development of the Czech and Slovak nations in their own right, and for their statehood. The effort for the development of both national republics prospers the whole federation, and enhances the unity of their common Czechoslovak state. Slovakia today shares in industrial and agricultural production, and in the creation of national revenue, roughly in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. In both republics, education at all levels is developing successfully, and the cultures of their nations and nationalities complement one another.

The existence and perfection of the Federation is an organic constituent of socialist democracy. The democratic relations between the Czechs and Slovaks are inherently linked with the democratic rights of the national minorities. Their members are citizens of the common socialist state with equal rights. The more decisively we develop the democratic elements of socialist society and the more we perfect our democracy in uniting rights and responsibilities, the more effective the participation of the ever-increasing number of our citizens will be in the management of public affairs. And this is the joint task of the Czechs and Slovaks, and of the members of the other nationalities living in Czechoslovakia.

The development of socialist democracy, of course, is indivisibly linked with the upholding of the principles of democratic centralism in the life of the whole of society. The federal organs in all decisive matters must fulfill their uniting role in the interest of the unity of Czechoslovakia, in the interest of the further development of the unified Czechoslovak socialist economy and of the unified socialist political system.

The federation is the result of the consistent Leninist policy of the CPCZ, inspired by the successful solution of the nationalities question in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party, as the leading political force in our society, is also the guarantee of the effective use of all the advantages of the federative arrangement. It is the guarantee of the respect of the national rights of the Czechs and Slovaks, of the democratic standing of the nationalities, and of the inviolable unity of the Federation. Through its activity, the party shows its commitment to the ideas of socialist internationalism not only in international relations, but in its domestic policy. This is the most secure bulwark against the abuse of nationalistic prejudices for whipping up chauvinism and undermining socialism.

It depends on each of us to ensure, figuratively speaking, that the tree of the federation bears sound fruit in the interests of the prosperity of our common state, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [end recording]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVLIN ADDRESSES SCIENCE ACADEMY MEETING

LD311907 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] Members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in a debate at the academy's 45th General Assembly, concentrated on the problems of specific contributions by scientific institutions to scientific and technological progress and on the improvement of the management of scientific work. They stressed the importance of close cooperation with institutions of the academies of sciences of socialist states, and also the need for greater concentration on the most perspective directions of research, which lay foundations for centers of innovation in industry.

Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, recalled in his speech that the realization of the overall intentions of the party's economic and social policy depends primarily on how successful we will be in applying sciences and technological progress as the principal factor of the intensification of the national economy. At issue is a comprehensive socially-wide task, which presupposes the mobilization of all economic, social, political and cultural resources to bring about the closest possible integration of sciences, production and the entire social practice. In the realization of this task a great deal is also expected from the Czechoslovak and Slovak academies of sciences.

Josef Havlin appreciated the fact that the academy has done a great deal for promoting better links between scientific and research work and economic practice, and has increased its involvement in tackling important social development tasks. There has, however, been no system developed for translating results in the innovation process that would ensure that every important result of basic research will be utilized as rapidly as possible in social practice.

The urgency of the effort to speed up scientific and technological progress is coming markedly into the forefront in connection with the international conditions in which the socialist countries are having to develop. Scientists of the socialist countries are facing a task of great political significance: to ensure the development of sciences and technology at a high international standard and thus to thwart imperialist attempts to use sciences and technology as a means of political pressure. Josef Havlin at the same time spoke in favor of the intensification of cooperation between our sciences and the sciences of the socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union.

CSO: 2400/51

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM' ASSESSED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, approved for publication on 4 Aug 83 pp 123-129

[Unattributed article: "An Important Anniversary: A Quarter of a Century of the Journal QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"]

[Text] The journal QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, subtitled "A Theoretical and Informational Journal of the Communist and Labor Parties," has in its heading also a notation "Published since 1958." Thus it is celebrating the 25th anniversary of its founding this year.

A desire to found such a journal was expressed at the session of the representatives of communist and labor parties in November 1957. The representatives of 20 communist and labor parties who met in Prague on 7-8 March then decided to found such a journal.

QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is a journal quite unique in the world. It has no model and no analogy. Prague can be rightfully proud that it is the seat of its publication, its editorial advisory board, and its editorial council.

At a time when "there is no control center in the international labor movement"--as a statement of the International Conference of Communist and Labor Parties emphasized already in 1959--the question naturally arises by whom and how the activity of this journal is directed.

In the quarter of a century of its existence, QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM has earned such respect in the international communist and labor movement that 65 communist and labor parties are represented in its editorial offices. Beginning with the Algerian party and ending with the Vietnamese party, they are all listed on the title page of the journal. (The fact that two-thirds of the deputies of the parties represented in the editorial office are members of the central committees or other leading agencies demonstrates the importance that the participating parties attach to the journal.)

We are watching with respect how through creative, enterprising acts the journal is carrying out Lenin's commission [stating] the mission of a

theoretical and political journal in the service of the international communist and labor movement, how responsibly it is fulfilling the role of a collective organizer and propagator of the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism, how aggressively and creatively it is participating in the epoch-making mission of the working class on all continents. In its activity, it consistently asserts the Leninist principles of relationships among the individual segments of the international working class, and fully respects their independence, their inalienable responsibility for the revolutionary cause of the working class of their countries and nations.

QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is a model of the creative approach to Marxism-Leninism, of the Leninist application of the unity of theory and practice, an example of the fight for the rights of the working class. It is in the front line of this fight, it stands like a fiery fighter for the preservation of peace, for democracy, for the hegemony of the working class in revolution as well as in socialism.

This monthly belongs to the main champions for the enforcement of the Leninist principles of a peaceful foreign policy, for the preservation of peace on our planet. The readers from almost all countries of the world can find in it analyses of present-day questions concerning the building of socialism, both deeply theoretical analyses as well as those that are very effective in practice, and they can become enlightened about a number of concrete methods of application and intensification of the leading role of the party in all aspects of life in a socialist society.

The journal has provided an invaluable service in spreading Soviet experiences from three Russian revolutions, from the building of socialism and communism. It publishes articles by leading Soviet party, state, and other functionaries who make high-level pronouncements about pertinent questions of life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet land.

QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM gives systematic coverage of the contemporary national liberation movements, of the revolutionary development of this important part of the current world-wide revolutionary process. It publishes the theoretical analyses as well as practical experiences [stemming] from the application of the leading role of the Marxist parties in this important area of world politics. Pursuing systematically and deliberately all main forces of the contemporary revolutionary process, it thus contributes to the strengthening and the advancement of the united action of the whole world-wide revolutionary process.

Using its specific means, the journal fulfills its avant-garde task not only within the framework of the international communist and labor movement but also by relating to the various contemporary democratic movements. It analyzes their contents, their class basis. It searches for a common language, especially as it pertains to the fight for peace and democracy. It explains to the readers what differentiates these movements from the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, but, above all, what binds them together and contributes to the assertion of the historical role of the working class and the working masses in the present-day circumstances.

With extraordinary sense for the dialectics of the general and the unique, the journal shows convincingly and substantiates argumentatively the idea of the permanent, international validity of Marxism-Leninism. It skillfully exposes the unscientific nature of the various revisionistic concepts, which in the name of so-called creative Marxism are in reality carrying out a dangerous revision thereof and confusing the ranks within the communist and labor movements.

The light of truth beams into all continents; it kindles the revolutionary determination of the masses. The magazine practically proves that theories which seize the masses becomes a powerful, invincible, revolutionary, inspirational force which the powerful armies of the strongest capitalist nations of the world cannot stop.

On the pages of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM we can find practical advice on how to lead discussions of the serious, [but still] somewhat immature theoretical as well as practical questions of the international communist and labor movements, how to realize successfully the leading role of the party in this extremely complicated sector of ideological and practical work, how to generalize experiences, how to fulfill the Leninist avantgarde role.

The work of the magazine is directed by an editorial advisory board and an editorial council composed of representatives of all participating parties. The most important precept here is the principle of equality and identical rights of all members of the above-mentioned organs. The editorial board, composed of representatives of 15 parties, is responsible for the daily routine activity of the journal and the work of its staff. The editorial council decides the basic questions during its regular meetings. It considers primarily the long-term as well as short-term work plans for the journal, the composition of individual issue, and the articles designated for printing. It receives regular information about the results of congresses of communist and labor parties, about the developments at international conferences, etc. It stages consultations of participating parties for evaluation of the work of the journal. (The latest such evaluation took place in Prague in November 1981.) It organizes theoretical debates, symposia, conferences, round-table discussions, and other forms of theoretical work connected with the journal.

The preparation of these challenging themes considered by the editorial advisory board is entrusted to 10 permanent regional and topical commissions. The leaders of these commissions form an international collective secretariat which directs the work of the magazine together with the editorial advisory board.

Let us now leaf through one of the issues of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM that we have chosen at random. It is issue No 6 of this year. Even a quick look convinces us of the extraordinary breadth of journalistic genres and forms that the journal uses, and of the representativeness of its authors. The above-mentioned number, for instance, carries key articles by three general secretaries of communist parties: the article "Peace as the

"Ideal of Socialism" by the general secretary of UV KSC [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] and president of the CSSR, Comrade G. Husak, characterizing the basic questions of peace under the circumstances following the April committee meeting of Warsaw Pact member-states' foreign minister in Prague; the article "The Immortal Teaching That Is Changing the World" by the general secretary of the UV SED [Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party] and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, E. Honecker, analyzing the development of Marxism 100 years after Marx' death; and the article "Crisis and Class Interests" by the general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, W. Kasthan, which, based on Canadian experiences, contributes to the analysis of the problems of capitalism's contemporary crisis.

As one can see already from this one example, contributions from the leading representatives of the communist and labor movements are not isolated phenomena in the journal. Until now, 270 articles by chairmen and general secretaries of central committees of communist or labor parties have appeared on its pages. At the same time, the journal constantly keeps strengthening its relations not only to communist, but also to revolutionary democratic, peace, and other progressive organizations and forces of the contemporary world. In the last 5 years, about 100 representatives of these movements from 20 countries appeared on the pages of the magazine.

Let us now turn to the column that bears the headline "Life of the Parties" in the journal. Its task lies in illuminating the life and work of both the parties represented on the journal's editorial staff as well as those thus far not represented there. This way, in the course of 1 year the journal discusses and clarifies various aspects of the work of some 100 communist and labor parties.

In the sixth issue of this year's volume, for instance, the column "Life of the Parties" reports on the international science conference "Karl Marx and Today--Fight for Peace and Social Progress," which was organized by the UV SED and held in Berlin, and was attended by delegations from 145 communist and labor parties and revolutionary, avant-garde, and national liberation movements. In another report, the general secretary of the Dominican Communist Party, Narciso Isa Conde, summarizes experiences gained in the building of the party under new legal conditions, and H. Kalt, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, discusses in his article "Against the Manipulation of Mass Consciousness" the function of the means of communication in a country of developed, partially state-owned capitalism.

Further columns show the wide spectrum of journalistic genres represented in the journal: they include a political report (under the title "For Every Inch of the April Achievements," in which editorial staff member S. Jastrzebski summarizes his impression of Portugal), a dialogue (Gombo-Ociryn Cimed, the editor-in-chief of the united editorship of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party journal, speaks about the unusual form of the organization of the party press in his country), and a column "Documents" (a program of anti-crisis measures of the Communist Party of the United States).

The column "Letters" in QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM has quite a singular character and a special emotional effect. It often contains letters of communists written under the hard conditions of illegality--from jails and concentration camps; at the same time, these [letters] testify to the indomitable courage and militant loyalty of the writers. In issue No 6, which we are discussing, there is a letter signed "Lucio," smuggled out of the Mariona Prison in El Salvador. It is addressed to the leadership of the Communist Party of El Salvador and is basically a report of a communist [stating] that he accomplished the tasks entrusted to him.

In issue No 6, the column "Discussion" deals with the topic "The Fight of the Working Class in Conditions Caused by Capitalistic Integration," in which 14 participants from the EEC, Canada, and Latin America, along with a scientist from the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, ponder over questions such as: Is integration an objective process or a tool of monopolies? What is the democratic alternative to the process of integration?

Discussion and exchange of opinions is one of the most fundamental tasks of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in its function as a collective tribunal of communists from the whole world. To prepare it for publication requires not only extensive theoretical but also organizational work, particularly in the case of such challenging tasks as organizing international scientific conferences or international symposia. (Last year, it was the conference in Havana, which dealt with the theme "The General and the Unique in the Revolutionary Process in Latin America and the Caribbean Region," for which the co-organizers were the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. These conferences often take place in Prague, as did, for instance, the symposium "How to Secure the Easing of Tensions," organized jointly with the World Peace Council, the symposium "On the Way to New International Information Order," or the symposium "The Economic Development and Societal Progress at This Stage of the Building of Socialism." The symposium "New Tendencies, Old Fetters" dealt with capitalist development in Latin America and the Caribbean region. In Luxemburg, the editors of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxemburg organized the symposium "Communist Attitude Toward the New Features and Problems of the Trade Unions in Western Europe.") Other times, the discussions present analyses of the materials of study groups (for instance, last year's "The Capitalistic World in the Grip of Inflation," or "The Developmental Tendencies of the Countries of the East Which Have Won Freedom by Fighting," the material for which was prepared by the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), or present authors who comment on the same questions. The breadth of this organizational work is indicated already by the fact that during the span of its existence, the journal arranged for more than 150 international meetings of this sort in various parts of the world.

The most acute questions of global development are dealt with in QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in the column "Times-Events-Evaluation," which is a sort of commentary. In issue No 6 of this year, for instance, three Soviet authors, professors and doctors of law explain how the powers of peace can

utilize international law. H. Gautier, the vice chairman of the German Communist Party, speculates which way the helm of the new Bonn coalition will turn, and Naim Ashab, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party, ponders upon the situation of the Palestinian revolution after the battle for Beirut.

On the pages devoted to dialogues and interviews we can meet not only prominent communists but also non-party individuals. In issue No 6 it is the Ecuadorean painter Oswaldo Guayasamin, who has donated his work and his collections from pre-Columbian times to the Ecuadorean state and who is painting the series "The Time of Wrath," which he is determined to continue until the world will put an end to violence, that is, all his life.

In the column "Surveys--Correspondence--Information," issue No 6 presents basic data on the following themes: the mechanism of people's rule in socialist countries, the 50th anniversary of the communist party in Ireland, and new data about U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

For the sake of completeness, let us add further that QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM also brings short new items from the life of communist parties and selected book reviews and information about books published practically anywhere in the world. (This in itself makes the journal unique in world journalism.) In the column "Chronicle" it presents reports, e.g., about the visits of leading representatives of communist and labor parties to the editorial offices of the journal.

The relationships and contacts that the magazine facilitates are naturally mirrored only partly in the publication activity, but they represent the irreplaceable role that QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM plays in the contemporary international communist movement. Precisely thanks to the existence of this journal, our movement has at its disposal an organ that makes possible a systematic, fundamental, and extensive exchange of ideas without which the theoretical, and therefore also practical, development of this movement would not be possible.

The highest forum that concerns itself with the work of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the regular consultations of representatives of communist and labor parties called for this purpose. After the first such conference which--as has been stated before--decided in 1958 to found this magazine, further conferences took place in 1960, 1969, 1971, 1974, 1977, and 1981. And while in 1960 it was delegations from 36 communist and labor parties that were evaluating the activity of the journal, at the latest meeting, in November 1981, there were 90 parties represented.

Let us now summarize the main objectives of the journal as they were established at the time of its founding and as they remain permanently relevant. They are:

--propaganda and further evaluation of problems of the theory of Marxism-Leninism through the analysis and generalization of the most significant

processes of contemporary international development and the building of socialism and communism in the USSR and other socialist countries;

--exchange of opinions on the questions of the international communist and socialist movement; interpretation and generalization of experiences of communist and labor parties in their fight for peace and socialism against the powers of imperialism and against all sorts of expressions of bourgeois ideology;

--propaganda about the strategy and tactics of individual parties;

--interpretation of the theoretical problems of the transition of various countries to socialism, of experiences from merging the general inevitability of the building of socialism with the unique characteristics of individual countries, and of questions of economic, political, and cultural cooperation of socialist states;

--fight for strengthening proletarian internationalism among the masses of the labor movement, for unification of all peace-loving and democratic powers;

--fight against revisionism and dogmatism within the international communist movement;

--fight for unity of action of the international labor movement, support of contacts and cooperation among the communist and social-democratic parties, help to communist parties in overcoming reformistic opinions within the working class;

--elaboration of questions of national anti-imperialistic liberation movements and of prospects for the social and political development of dependent and colonial countries.

And one more final piece of information: the monthly QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is distributed in 145 countries and is published in 40 languages. That, too, confirms the fact that both in the manner of its origin as well as in its outreach, its contents, and its circulation, QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is not only a unique phenomenon in world journalism but, above all, an irreplaceable collective tribune of communists of the whole world.

The editorial collective of NOVA MYSL draws many conceptional, theoretical and methodological stimuli for its own work from the activity of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. It finds on its pages valuable inspiration for theoretical and practical solutions of a number of questions concerning development and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the areas of building socialism and of ideological struggle.

Taking the opportunity of this anniversary, the editorial collective of NOVA MYSL expresses its hearty congratulations to the editors of QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM and wishes them much creative success in their challenging and responsible work for the keeping of peace in the world, for the cause of the international communist and labor movement, for the whole world-wide revolutionary process.

12435

CSO: 2400/37

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CHAMBER OF NATIONS MEETING--The third independent meeting of the Chamber of the Nations of the Federal Assembly is being held in Prague today. Present at the meeting are: Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal; members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly; Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council; candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Jan Fojtik and Josef Haman; and secretaries of the party Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik. Also present at the meeting are members of the Federal Government, Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council, vice chancellors of high schools, representatives of science, leading workers from ministries, and institutions, and representatives of political parties and the social organizations of the National Front. [Text] [LD251509 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Oct 83]

TRADE UNIONS DELEGATION RETURNS--An official delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and deputy chairman of the World Trade Union Federation, returned from Damascus to Prague today. In Damascus, the delegation participated in the 30th session of the Bureau of the World Trade Union Federation, which appealed to the working people of trade unions all over the world to take part in decisive fights for peace and disarmament. A delegation of the World Trade Union Federation also returned to Prague. [Text] [LD242006 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 24 Oct 83]

SUPPORT FOR MISSILES STATEMENT--The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee expressed in a statement today its support for the agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and the USSR Council of Ministers on opening preparatory work for the development of operational-tactical missile complexes on the territory of Czechoslovakia. The statement says that if Pershing 2 and other nuclear missiles are deployed in West Europe there is no other way to prevent the attempt by the United States and NATO to disturb the strategic balance and gain military superiority. [Text] [LD252224 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 25 Oct 83]

CSO: 2400/51

STRUCTURE, MISSIONS OF WORKER MILITIA UNITS DETAILED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 15 Oct 83 pp 3-4

[Article by 'sk.' dateline Berlin, end of September: "Division of Tasks of the Armed Forces in the GDR; Thirty Years for the Paramilitary Worker's Militia"]

[Text] Because of its geographic position at the dividing line between Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as because of the problems of the divided Germany, the GDR has an especially pronounced security need. The security tenor of the state rests on two pillars. The paramilitary units of the worker militia, together with the People's Police, essentially have to provide for internal security. In the case of military conflict, the regular armed forces of the National People's Army (NVA) are responsible for external security within the framework of its alliance obligations vis-a-vis the Warsaw Pact.

Factor in the Internal Securing of Power

But the spheres of responsibility of the worker militia and the NVA are not strictly delimited. Already many years ago, GDR Minister of Defense Hoffmann made no secret of the fact that, in the case of a military conflict, the worker militia will have to carry out military tasks. When the operational freedom of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces must be secured, Hoffmann declared at a large political rally in Rostock on 17 August 1978, the commanders and staffs of the NVA and of the Soviet armed forces stationed in the GDR count on the worker militia as "operationally strong and reliable companions-in-arms." To be sure, the primary function of the NVA is determined by the military policy of the Warsaw Pact; beyond this, however, it is an important factor of the internal securing of power. Independently of their specific spheres of responsibility, the worker militia and the NVA are for the state leadership the most reliable politico-military instruments which are supposed to guarantee the existence and continuation of the communist regime in the GDR.

This year the worker militia is celebrating its 30th anniversary with large-scale events which have the character of military demonstrations against the stationing of new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe. The session of the SED Central Committee of 17-19 September 1953, at which the then General Secretary Ulbricht announced the formation of an enterprise-level worker militia of 150,000 to 200,000 in strength, is regarded as the foundation date of the worker militia.

The history of the genesis of the worker militia makes clear that they were primarily intended for use in connection with internal unrest. Already 4 days after the uprising in the GDR on 17 June 1953, the SED Central Committee made a decision in principle concerning the creation of worker militia units for the protection of the "staff of workers and farmers". The Hungarian Uprising in 1956 and the unrest in Poland during the same year led to an increased expansion of the worker militia. At the session of the SED Central Committee on 30 January and 1 February 1957, Honecker advocated the strengthening of the worker militia "in every respect" and thorough training in local, street and house to house fighting. For the first time Honecker also expounded the military character of the worker militia. In addition to political training, he said, the improvement of military training as well as arms and equipment is necessary. If necessary, he indicated, the tasks of the worker militia must be solved jointly with units of the NVA. The worker militia, placed on alert throughout the country, passed its first great test when, in close cooperation with the NVA, it secured militarily the building of the wall on 13 August 1961.

#### Purposeful Recruitment

The worker militia is recruited from members of the VEB (state enterprises) and large industrial combines who are loyal to the regime. According to prevailing law, the state enterprises are obligated to provide for the material+technical guarantee of national defense and to carry out other defense measures, including civil defense. They also have the task of promoting military education. The growing militarization of public life in the GDR, therefore, largely emanates from the worker militia.

Its organization corresponds to military requirements. Units and formations of the worker militia are structured in accordance with the pattern of regular armed forces. In addition to the formations of the worker militia, there are special units such as radio detachments and corps of engineers, as well as reconnaissance units and security troops. The command structure is adapted to the SED party structure. Fourteen bezirk commands, as well as special commands of the GDR Railway and the post office, are subordinated to the central command of the worker militia in East Berlin. The staffs are frequently manned with NVA officers. Commanding officers are trained at the worker militia school in Schmerwitz and in military academies of the NVA. According to Western information, the worker militia is made up of former members of the NVA to the extent of 75 percent. In accordance with their task of providing for internal security, the worker militia formations are mainly concentrated in the large cities and industrial centers.

In the view of the SED, the development of the Polish labor union Solidarnosc [Solidarity] could have been prevented if the party and state leadership of the neighboring country would have had at its disposal a comparable instrument. East Berlin, therefore, with reference to its own worker militia, reproached the Polish leadership with grave omissions and gross negligence in the sphere of internal security.

According to information by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the worker militia has a combined strength of 500,000 men. Since

military details in the countries of the East Bloc are subject to a high security classification, knowledge about the equipment and armament of the worker militia is incomplete. It is certain, however, that it has at its disposal artillery and combat vehicles. According to intelligence by Swiss military experts, tanks of Type 54/T and rockets are also part of the equipment.

Unconditional political reliability is expected of the worker militia. Colonel General Scheibe, who is responsible for the worker militia in the SED Central Committee, again emphasized this with great clarity in the party journal EINHEIT on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the paramilitary formations. Among the characteristic traits of the worker militia, he said, is the fact that for them, decisions of the SED Central Committee and other leading party organs in the Bezirke and Kreise [bezirk and kreis administrative units/or military districts] are "valid directions".

#### Scrutiny of Political Training

Nevertheless it must be doubted that the unconditional political reliability of the members of the worker militia is guaranteed in every case. The SED leadership at any rate has announced that the political training of the worker militia will be scrutinized yet this year. If necessary, according to the words of Major General Krapp, who is responsible for the training in the Ministry of the Interior, conclusions must be drawn from the results of the scrutiny for the "further consolidation" of the worker militia.

The claim of the SED to the leading role in the military sphere has never been called into question by either the worker militia or the NVA, even if on occasion, especially during the period of the build-up of the army, there were instances of friction between political officers and commanders with respect to professional military aspects and their subordination to political goals, and still are. All decisions in regard to military policy, to the extent to which they are within the competence of the GDR, are made by the Politburo and realized by the National Defense Council, whose chairman is Honecker. Political administrations are attached to the Ministry of Defense and the individual military districts, political officers--to the commanders of the NVA down to the level of the regiment. The political and ideological training of the members of the NVA is carried out by full-time SED secretaries and secretaries of the state youth association FDJ [Free German Youth].

#### Organization of the National People's Army

In contrast to other armed forces of East European countries, the formations of the National People's Army from the very beginning were subordinated to the Supreme Command of the Warsaw Pact. The cooperation of the NVA with the Soviet troops stationed in the GDR is particularly close. Soviet military advisers have had a decisive role in shaping the build-up of the NVA. The leadership and organizational structure of the NVA closely follow military and organizational principles of the Soviet armed forces. The close cooperation is practically tested in numerous joint maneuvers by Soviet and NVA units. The weight of the NVA within the [Warsaw] Pact forces can be measured by the fact that mobile formations and units belong to the First Strategic Echelon of the [Warsaw] Pact forces.

The total strength of the NVA, including the border troops, comes to about 210,000 men. The land forces, with a strength of approximately 107,000 men, consist of 4 motorized infantry divisions, tank and anti-tank, rocket, engineering, artillery, as well as air defense and airborne units. They are equipped with relatively modern Soviet weapon systems.

The formations of the air forces (strength approximately 36,000 men), including 2 fighter pilot divisions and 1 fighter pilot training divisions, have at their disposal fighter planes, fighter bombers, transport planes, helicopters, as well as antiaircraft rocket units and paratroopers. According to the GDR Handbook [DDR-Handbuch], published by the Ministry for Inner-German Relations in Bonn, the fighter pilot formations are equipped with 416 fighter aircraft of the Type Mig-17, Mig-21 and IL-14. Two antiaircraft rocket battalions--likewise according to the information in the GDR Handbook--are equipped with 22 SA-2 and 3 SA-3 launcher ramps.

The GDR People's Navy, with a strength of about 16,000 men, is the smallest military service. It has at its disposal about 190 war ships and 80 auxiliary ships. Their equipment includes, among other things, 2 escort vessels of the Riga-Class, 70 torpedo boats of the Libelle [Dragon-fly], Iltis [Polecat] and Shershen' [Russian: Hornet] Class, minesweepers and amphibious landing craft, as well as a helicopter squadron and anti-submarine ships.

The border troops, with a strength of approximately 48,000 men, are not an independent military service. In view of their special function and responsibilities, they are subordinated directly to the Ministry of Defense.

#### The Image of the Enemy

The image of the enemy of the worker militia and the NVA is identical. It is the product of communist ideology and, therefore, less determined by reality than by the political objective. In accordance with the thesis of the imperialist danger of war, the enemy is depicted as aggressor in principle. In addition to direct intentions of aggression, there are, according to the image of the enemy, indirect forms of aggression, such as border provocations and the exertion of economic pressure.

The center of the image of the enemy is the Federal Republic, which is described as the main center of the danger of war in Europe. By virtue of its structure, equipment and armament, it is argued, the federal armed forces [FRG] are destined to trigger a war of aggression. The "Taschenbuch fuer Militaerpolitik und Wehrpflicht" [Pocket Book for Military Policy and Universal Military Service] of the GDR accordingly states that the members of the West German military are "the enemies of every member of the People's Army". To the problem of a possible fratricidal war between the Germans, the image of the enemy counterposes the class ideology with the comparison of "good" and "bad" Germans. The worker militia and the members of the NVA have it hammered into them that, in case of a conflict, the issue is not a fratricidal war between Germans, but the struggle between "good" and "evil"--with the GDR being the exponent of "good".

The image of the enemy is thus deliberately enhanced with a moral-ethical component, which implies an education to hatred. In the Pocket Book for Military

Policy and Universal Military Service already cited, it is accordingly stated that the soldier of the NVA, who has the "sacred combat mission" of protecting the peace, is confronted by an enemy in whom "all decent and pure feelings of an honest person [were] killed and a fanatical hatred of everything good and progressive, against socialism and peace [was] cultivated."

This exaggerated image of the enemy, however, is judged as lacking credibility even within the armed forces. According to Western reports, the image of the enemy is executed at times in the political training courses as "compulsory exercise" without inner involvement. A growing pacifism, especially among the young generation, constitutes an additional burden for the exaggerated image of the enemy of the armed forces, whose military significance and reliability in case of a conflict is estimated as being small by large segments of the population. The presence of a Soviet armed force of about half a million soldiers in the GDR and their close intermeshing with the NVA lead one to suppose that the Russians think likewise.

8970  
CSO: 2300/63

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

UNIVERSITY RECTOR CIRCULATES ANTI-MISSILE LETTER ABROAD

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Oct 83 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Atomic First Strike Weapons Must Not Be Stationed in West Europe"]

[Text] The rector of the Humboldt University of Berlin, Prof Dr Helmut Klein, has sent a letter to 17 rectors or presidents of universities or colleges in West Europe and the United States, including the University of Hamburg, the FU [Free University] of West Berlin, the University of Paris VIII, London University, the Buckinghamshire College of Higher Education in High Wycombe in Great Britain, the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, the Ealing College of Higher Education in London, Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in the United States, the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis in the United States, the University of Chicago in the United States, the universita degli studi La Sapienza in Rome, the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, the State University of Ghent in Belgium and the Free University in Brussels.

Professor Klein writes:

"Dear colleague:

"Please excuse my addressing you this way, but I think I am justified to do so because we are sure to feel a common concern for the future of mankind in light of the political situation that has arisen, particularly in Europe.

"As is known, it is planned for NATO to station in West Europe in the next few weeks a large number of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles and cruise missiles which would be in a position to reach the vital centers of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries within a flight time of only a few minutes and to destroy them."

In accord with the statements of the most varied peace movements in the West European countries and the United States and in full accord with the peace movement in the GDR, the rector of Humboldt University draws attention to the following consequences:

1--It is pointed out that since the Soviet Union has offered not to want to possess a single missile or a single warhead more than already exist in West Europe, since it is prepared to scrap any potentials beyond that

and since it is now proposing before the United Nations still more far reaching measures of mutual reduction of nuclear potentials, there is no need whatsoever for the planned NATO measures.

The stationing of NATO missiles in West Europe would substantially disturb the current balance of forces. These missiles, being in the nature of first-strike weapons, represent an enormous threat to the socialist countries.

2--The rector emphasizes that if these plans are implemented, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries have no alternative but to take counter-measures. As a result of the armament spiral started by the United States and NATO--whose economic, ecological, social, etc effects on the peoples are unfathomable--ever-increasing potentials of annihilation will confront each other in Europe. In other words, contrary to what the advocates of these plans claim, the West European peoples' security will not increase. Quite the opposite: the greater the extent to which West Europe is turned into a launching ramp for nuclear weapons, the greater will be the threat to these states.

3--Professor Klein points out further: The greater the accumulated potentials and the shorter the warning times, the greater will be the danger of a human error or technical failure triggering an avalanche of annihilation which it will then not be possible to contain any longer and which would culminate in a nuclear inferno. This is a threat to all [spaced print] of us regardless of political, ideological, moral or other stands.

4--The rector states: This being so, every effort must be made to call a determined halt to such a disastrous development. It is 5 minutes before 12 in the truest sense of the word. It is indisputable that the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union are reasonable, constructive and directed toward securing peace.

In conclusion the rector writes:

"Dear colleague, in this fateful hour, when in my opinion and that of my colleagues at our university, rich in tradition, the human destiny is at stake, I am turning to you with the plea to exercise all of your influence to prevent the stationing of new missiles in West Europe.

"Scientists bear a special responsibility for seeing to it that the results of their research are used not for the destruction of human civilization but for the happiness and welfare of all.

"This is our joint [spaced print] responsibility, regardless of any differences which may exist between us in many another question, including basic questions. This responsibility includes our expressing our point view unambiguously and publicly in the kind of dramatic situation that exists at present. I would like to beg you sincerely to do so."

8790  
CSO: 2300/70

BERLIN STATUS CONCEPT MANIPULATED AFTER WESTERN MAYOR'S VISIT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Oct 83 p 12

/Article by Peter Jochen Winters datelined Berlin, at the end of October:  
"Weizsaecker's Mistake Starts To Take Revenge"/

/Text/ A serious argument has erupted between the CDU/FDP Senat and the opposition SPD in Berlin with regard to status concepts in encounters with the GDR and East Berlin. It was triggered by SPD West-East activities. At the invitation of the study group on education and culture of the SPD fraction in the assembly, a delegation of GDR educationists visited West Berlin last week, returning a visit of SPD politicians to East Berlin in May last. The official GDR news agency ADN reported that "a delegation of the public education committee of the GDR's People's Chamber" had spent some time in West Berlin.

For some time past the Berlin SPD has endeavored to establish contacts in East Berlin. In the past it had taken care that the other side could not take advantage in the matter of status concepts. As, according to Western legal interpretations, the four-power status applies to Berlin as a whole, and West Berlin is linked to the Federal Republic of Germany by special ties, it is impossible for international relations between the GDR and West Berlin to exist nor, therefore, any official contacts between the Berlin Assembly and the GDR - People's Chamber. In order to underline the special relationship between the two sections of the four-power city Berlin, the SPD deputies had hitherto insisted that representatives of the city's eastern part should be among their interlocutors, so as to maintain the municipal aspect of the discussions. That is how it had been at the time the SPD politicians visited East Berlin last May.

Now, however, the SPD deputies report that--in the course of preparations for the return visit--the Eastern side, represented by the head of the "West Berlin department" at the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, maintained that "a new basis for transactions" in "relations between the GDR and West Berlin" had been established since the 15 September visit by Mayor von Weizsaecker to Honecker in East Berlin. On that occasion the GDR representative claimed, Weizsaecker had banished to the backburner the status concept that had earlier been considered an obstacle to any meeting with Honecker. Accordingly, GDR consideration for Western susceptibilities in the issue of status was no longer of much importance. The Social Democrats should not be "more hesitant and fearful" than the Senat coalition of CDU and FDP, nor should it place "excessive value" on the issue of status. Still, the SPD

deputies were at least able to prevail insofar that the delegation of People's Chamber deputies was joined by the vice-chancellor of East Berlin's Humboldt University as the only representative of an East Berlin institution and non-deputy.

After the conclusion of the GDR delegation's visit, the speaker of the Senat reprimanded the SPD for not having informed the governing mayor of the status problems that had arisen in the course of the preparations and for having "irresponsibly accepted the conceptions of the other side." At Weizsaecker's meeting with Honecker, on the other hand, the GDR had kept to the agreed preconditions and made "no attempt at propagandist and status conceptual exploitation." The SPD justified itself by pointing out that the other side had "cited the example of the governing mayor" to attempt to offer a People's Chamber delegation only, and that the SPD had finally managed to obtain the inclusion in the delegation of the representative of Humboldt University. Wednesday last saw a talk between the governing mayor and the fraction chairmen of the CDU, FDP and SPD on issues of the status of Berlin as well as of Germany and Berlin policy. Weizsaecker issued the invitation to this conversation at the suggestion of FDP Land and fraction chairman Rasch. The latter had warned of the danger of an "inflation of uncoordinated activities that would tend to do harm rather than help." He also suggested that West-East contacts at various levels--though to be welcomed--should be better prepared in future and coordinated in consultation with the appropriate agencies in Bonn and Berlin. The Senat itself had a definite duty to coordinate all of this.

At least since the Khrushchev ultimatum of 1958 it has been the aim of the Soviet Union and the GDR to deal with West Berlin as an independent object of international law, as an "independent political unit" and to deny its special ties with the Federal Republic and FRG representation of West Berlin in foreign affairs. These efforts did not cease with the conclusion of the four-power treaty. On the contrary, ever since the GDR has been using the treaty's phraseology for the special ties between the city and the federation in international treaties with its allies to describe its own and their relations with West Berlin. The Federal Government has a "plenipotentiary" in West Berlin, the GDR would also like to have a permanent representative there.

Of course the GDR did not change its policy toward West Berlin after the meeting between von Weizsaecker and Honecker--the first encounter of a governing mayor with a GDR party and state chief. Instead the GDR skillfully exploited this meeting to reinforce its concept of an "independent political unit--West Berlin." This is quite obvious not only by what happened to the Berlin SPD which, not unjustifiably, incurred the suspicion of irresponsibly handling the vital status issues by the ambiguous comment of its new top candidate Ristock to the effect that Berlin should no longer be a "thorn in the flesh of the GDR," and that it was now important to achieve improved relations "with our surrounding country, the GDR." The governing mayor, too, has evidently been "had" by the GDR.

There is not the slightest doubt that the GDR did not simply but aside the issue of status but stubbornly persisted in its interpretation of the law while preparing for the Weizsaecker-Honecker talks. It is a fact that the GDR categorically rejected the proposal for Weizsaecker to be accompanied by the FRG's permanent representative in East Berlin, State Secretary Braeutigam. Indeed, the GDR said bluntly that the talks were off if Weizsaecker continued to insist on Braeutigam's presence. Instead

of forsaking the meeting with Honecker in these circumstances, Weizsaecker even consented to the presence of Ambassador Mueller, head of the West Berlin department at the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, without at least taking along with him the Senat's "man in charge of visits" as well as the head of the Senat chancellery. On behalf of the GDR Government, Muller is also in charge of Berlin tourist and visitor traffic. Nor did the governing mayor report to the public about his meeting with Honecker while in East Berlin, at the FRG permanent legation, in order to emphasize Berlin's links with the federation; instead he chose to report in Schoeneberg City Hall. In fact he did not so much as set foot in the permanent legation. He did not inform Braeutigam about the talks until he was back in West Berlin.

After his return from East Berlin, Weizsaecker said in West Berlin that he had conducted the talks with Honecker "not merely as governing mayor but as a German politician." He had pointed out to Honecker that opinions had differed on the issue of the status of Berlin ever since the end of World War II. It had not been the point of the talks to use the actual conversation as a tool to change status concepts for the benefit of the one side and the detriment of the other. If the talks had been interpreted in any other way, they would not merely have been the first but also the last such talks. At the time Weizsaecker said verbatim: "There is not the shadow of a doubt about the interpretation of this conversation, and we are definitely and completely agreed on that point. These talks are not tools to change a situation characterized by the fact that neither the four powers nor the two German states have yet agreed on the status of Berlin in the postwar era, and that neither I as governing mayor nor the SED general secretary are able to alter the status of Berlin because this is entirely in the hands of the four powers."

Despite these words, Honecker was evidently not quite of the same mind as the governing mayor. The ADN report of the meeting--presumably not agreed between the two (a mistake not committed by the Protestant Church on the occasion of its talks with Honecker on 6 March 1978, for example)--mentions the "relationship between the GDR and West Berlin" four times. At one point it says that Honecker had emphasized "that the GDR was organizing its relationship with West Berlin also on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of different social systems."

According to the Marxist-Leninist definition of the term, peaceful coexistence is the "peaceful side-by-side and cooperation of states." The ADN report on the Weizsaecker/Honecker meeting also mentions "relations": Honecker is said to have commented on the importance of reinforcing earlier achievements "and expand relations." Going by the experience gained with regard to the public handling of the meeting between Weizsaecker and Honecker by the GDR and the experiences of the Berlin SPD politicians, it is certainly not easy to interpret the behavior of the other side as anything but a blatant attempt to exploit the Weizsaecker-Honecker talks in the matter of status.

11698  
CSO: 2300/61

SED ORGAN PUBLISHES CHURCH PEACE PLEA

FRG Report

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Oct 83 p 2

/Article signed "Ws." datelined Berlin 23 Oct 83: "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND prints Evangelical Calls Against Arming in East and West"/

/Text/ In last Saturday's commentary column, the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND printed two letters to General Secretary Honecker from Protestant congregations in the two German states. These letters reflect the growing fears of large sections of the public with regard to the "subsequent arms modernization" of the Eastern Bloc, the fear of an "ice age" in inner-German relations as well as the conviction that unilateral concessions on the road to disarmament are the only way to stop the arms race. The truly remarkable aspect of this event is not only the first ever publication (and in a conspicuous spot) in the party organ of a comment originating in the independent Christian peace commitment in the GDR, it is also the documentation of statements equally opposing the NATO arms modernization and the "subsequent arms modernization" threatened by the Warsaw Pact in the East. Up to now only opinions unilaterally directed against the emplacement of new American nuclear rockets in Western Europe had been published in the GDR. All contributions from churches and Christian peace groups in the GDR used to be suppressed unless they totally accorded with official propaganda.

"We wish to endorse you and, at the same time, urge you to do everything in your power for the negotiations in Geneva to result in success. We wish to endorse you and urge you to continue and expand the dialogue between the two German states, so that confidence may grow as the basis of a security partnership,--to quote your words--a coalition of reason." These sentences are from the letter to Honecker written by the Protestant-Lutheran congregation at Dresden-Loeschwitz. Letters from the public are usually published in the SED party organ when they post facto approve the measures of the state leaders, or when particular decisions are to be prepared. At the peak of the debate on the case of transit traveler Burkert in mid-April last, for example, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published "letters from GDR citizens" who thought that Honecker should not travel to the FRG. At the end of April he canceled his trip, planned for the fall. Possibly the present intention is to prepare the public for a GDR push in Moscow, asking the Soviet Union to be prepared to compromise at the Geneva negotiations.

The letter, signed by members of the congregation, the board of church wardens and the head of the parish, continues by saying that the writers are filled with horror thinking "that, in the case of the emplacement of American nuclear rockets in Western Europe--condemned by all of us--corresponding nuclear countermeasures are to be initiated on our territory, too, and that we and our children will have to live directly with nuclear rockets." The Dresden congregation recalls Honecker once saying that more arms did not necessarily signify more security. Furthermore Honecker had adopted the concept of security partnership as the sign of unremitting readiness to negotiate and talk, in particular by the two German states. Finally Honecker had concurred with the Swedish proposal of a European zone free of tactical nuclear weapons. "We are very grateful to you indeed for all these comments, because you thereby reflect all our profound desire for peace. We Christians wish to endorse you and, at the same time, urge you with the utmost determination to translate these precepts into political reality."

For Christians the establishment of confidence between states represents the key to the relaxation of tensions. "It seems to us that the only possibility at this time to secure peace is the readiness, linked to confidence, to prior unilateral concessions, that is the abandonment of tit for tat." Christians derive this conviction from the Gospel, especially Christ's message. "We know that Christ's conceptions, especially in regard to love for one's neighbor and one's enemy have until now been considered politically impracticable, indeed unreasonable," the Dresdners' letter continues. However, confronted with the deadly arms spiral, they might be discovered to contain an impetus to liberation: "To create confidence by measures equaling a prior unilateral concession so as to break the lethal automatism." They considered it a spiritual obligation to propose this concept of the Christian tradition "as a contribution to the great peace discussion in our country," the Dresden congregation wrote Honecker, "although we know that you are guided by different basic political and ideological conceptions." At the same time they informed him that, ever since mid-September, they had been praying for peace day and night in the Dresden-Blasewitz Church of the Holy Spirit, in particular for the success of the Geneva disarmament talks. "This chain of prayers will continue until the conclusion of the Geneva negotiations."

In addition to the letter from the Protestant-Lutheran congregation at Dresden-Loeschwitz, the SED central organ also published a letter to Honecker from the Hausen congregation in the FRG. This says, among others: "The Protestant board of church wardens in Pohlheim-Hausen advocates peace in the world and opposes means of mass destruction in East and West." Although the board of church wardens could speak only for a small congregation, it believed that it should send its statement to the statesmen of the Soviet Union and the United States, the Federal Government and, not least, Honecker, so that they should all know that even small decision-making bodies were preoccupied with vital issues. "We urge you to think of our statement in all discussions and negotiations you conduct or influence."

Text of Letter

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Oct 83 p 2

/Letter text: Armament Dismantling through Determined Negotiations--that is the Need of the Moment"//

/Text/ To Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

Honored Council of State Chairman:

We are writing this letter to you, inspired by our profound concern for peace. Since mid-September we and many Christians from other Dresden congregations have been praying day and night for peace in the Dresden-Blasewitz Church of the Holy Ghost, especially for the success of the Geneva disarmament negotiations. This chain of prayer will continue until the conclusion of the Geneva negotiations. We consider our prayers an action appropriate to us Christians; it is aimed at erecting a signpost toward peace and hope.

Like many other citizens of our country, we feel quite particularly threatened by the escalation of nuclear arms in Europe. We are fearful that the need for ever greater deterrence and defense might lead to the incalculable hazards of a nuclear war.

We are filled with horror at the thought that the emplacement of American nuclear rockets in Western Europe--condemned by all of us--may cause the initiation of corresponding nuclear countermeasures on our territory, and that we and our children might have to live directly with nuclear rockets.

You yourself have repeatedly expressed the thought that more arms do not signify more security. We interpret this as meaning that further arms efforts are senseless, and that instead disarmament by resolute negotiation must be the precept of the day.

You also adopted the concept of a security partnership as the sign of unremitting readiness for negotiation and discussion, especially between the two German states. Your latest letter to the FRG Federal Chancellor clearly demonstrated that.

Finally, you spontaneously concurred with the Swedish proposal for a European zone free of tactical nuclear weapons.

We are very grateful to you indeed for all these comments, because you have thereby reflected all our profound desire for peace. Your statements strengthen our confidence that you as the holder of great political responsibility seek every possibility for securing peace.

We Christians wish to endorse you and, at the same time, urge you with the greatest determination to translate these precepts into political reality.

We wish to endorse you and, at the same time, urge you to do everything in your power for the negotiations in Geneva to result in success.

We wish to endorse you and, at the same time, urge you to continue and expand the dialogue between the two German states, so that confidence may grow as the basis of a security partnership,--to quote your words--a coalition of reason.

For us Christians the establishment of confidence among states represents the key to the relaxation of tensions. It seems to us that the only possibility at this time to secure peace is the readiness, linked to confidence, to prior unilateral concessions, that is the abandonment of tit for tat. This our conviction derives from the Gospel, in particular Christ's message.

We know that Christ's conceptions, especially in regard to love for one's neighbor and one's enemy have until now been considered politically impracticable, indeed unreasonable. However, confronted with a deadly arms spiral, they may be found to contain an impetus for liberation: To create confidence by measures equaling a prior unilateral concession so as to break the lethal automatism.

Although we know that you are guided by different basic and ideological conceptions, we consider it a spiritual obligation to propose this concept of the Christian tradition as a contribution to the great peace discussion in our country.

We are writing to you also in consideration of our people's guilty past. We, too, passionately wish that no more wars should start from German soil. Many of us are still haunted by the hideous memory of the night Dresden turned into an inferno.

While every previous war has been a crime against mankind, we realize that a nuclear war would extinguish human history, indeed life on earth. And yet life is a unique and holy gift, and all of us without exception are obligated to commit to it all our strength and responsibility.

Respectfully,

On behalf of members of the congregation:

Paul-Gerhard Weber  
Joerg Junghanss  
Andreas Foerster  
Monika Schreiber  
Juergen Seidel

On behalf of the board of church wardens:

Dr Friderike Trefitz  
Hans-Georg Imscher

Parish head:

Dietmar Selunka, minister

Protestant-Lutheran Parish and Cemetery Administration Dresden-Loeschwitz

11698  
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TV VIEWER CRITICISM SEEN AS SAFE FOR OPINION VENTING

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 4 Sep 83 pp 30-31

[Article by Gyorgy Marvanyi: "Five Million Angry Men--or A Diagnosis of Viewer Intolerance"]

[Text] Even if we subtract the solutions offered for the program "I Got It," the ballots sent to the participants in "Who Knows What" and similar "messages" requested and expected from viewers, television is still one of the largest correspondents in the country. The opinions written in about individual programs and series, whether expressing dissatisfaction or recognition, are instructive, worthy of analysis and betray much. Each one says much about the culture and character of the author and, taken together, represent or characterize some larger group or community as well.

On 2 June television broadcast the program by Mari Torocsik titled "What Roads I've Travelled." We received a number of letters about the splendid 45 minutes. Ilona Szendera, Budapest: "Please repeat, if possible, Mari Torocsik's program... Unfortunately I saw only part of it and it pleased me very much." But some of the viewers telephoned the same day. I quote from the log of the telephone officer of the program directorate: "Five callers congratulated the artist and asked that the program be repeated; 24 callers expressed dissatisfaction in connection with the program titled 'What Roads I've Travelled.' 'This program was revolting. What did the TV viewers do to you?' they asked." Iren N. wrote in a letter with similar content: "What roads.... What was it? In the future we would rather turn off the set." And a portion from another Budapest letter: "How could you put such foolishness on the screen.... Mari Torocsik is no prima donna, it was horrible to see and hear her. Did none of you dare say no?"

Please observe how interesting this is. Those who praise "congratulate the artist" in their own name and request a repeat. Those who judge and condemn the artist, the authors and editors without appeal, do not pronounce the verdict in their own name but rather threaten in the name of the entire viewing public, "We will turn off the set." It is also worthy of note that according to one correspondent this terrible Torocsik program was forced, from outside somewhere, on a compromising television, where "no one dared resist"....(Whom?)

I read these letters (which the correspondence department conscientiously processes every month and summarizes in 10-15 pages for the creative staff of television) with a certain sadness and misgiving. Because a program cannot please everyone. Even those who prepare a good program cannot count on having the entire viewing public accept and agree to their creation. Getting the message of an artistic (or non-artistic) production understood, getting people to appreciate the intellectual or formal solutions of a program, requires such a multitude of favorable conjunctions and effects that one must calculate on a larger or smaller group who "do not understand." Artists working in television understand this too, they feel it and try to adjust to it. The Torocsik program also had to clash with individual limitations given by culture, traditions and taste. In addition, that form of communication in which Ferenc Kallai, Tamas Major, Gyorgy Kalman or Geza Tordy "narrate their story," their feelings, with a look, a gesture or a turning of the body may be unacceptable and completely alien to some, perhaps to many.

But this is not the problem. The problem is that if something is alien to a viewer, if something irritates a viewer, then he is incapable of processing it psychologically, incapable of showing tolerance toward the new or unaccustomed or the phenomenon unpleasant to him and--becomes aggressive in the wake of it. The overwhelming majority of Hungarian viewers are not tolerant. That which does not please them for some reason cannot be good. And it cannot please others either! This is why the viewer who does not recognize or practice tolerance always writes or telephones in the name of all viewers, why he always uses the plural. He is incapable of getting inside the psychological state of others. He cannot even imagine that what does not please him could be pleasing, beautiful or interesting to others.

And he who regards himself indisputably as the representative of the majority, of course, is indignant not only in his own name but in the name of the majority. In addition, he usually does not stop at mere grumbling, nagging or indignation. Because even if he can imagine that this "stupidity" may be pleasing to someone (naturally a stupid minority), he considers it impermissible that the program in question should have been broadcast. That and similar programs must be purged from the screen; those in television who approved it must be purged from television.... Those who are not tolerant immediately want to limit others--the artist, who created something deviating from his taste, the television worker, who gave it a place on the screen, and the other viewers, whom he does not know and whose opinions he does not know. Non-recognition of the freedom of others (creative, editorial, viewing and human freedom), this is the essence of viewer intolerance.

Of course, the lack of tolerance or understanding can appear not only in connection with television programs. It is present everywhere in our society, despite the fact that work and office discipline, the legal rules of coexistence and moral and behavioral norms limit the intolerance. Everyone here learns intolerance at his own expense. But let us leave this sphere--where the individual is moved toward tolerance by economic-social constraints and the well conceived interests deriving therefore--into the world of political and moral opinions, where he who is intolerant feels no material or other disadvantage, where the constraint of the social medium is weaker and

the freedom and scope of the individual is a good bit greater. Experience shows that not greater but rather less tolerance is shown for the views of others. And this only worsens another degree entering the zone of culture and the arts, where television also is active.

The intolerance which must be stifled in connection with the other affairs of life breaks to the surface without restraint in the case of television. The programs try to satisfy so many tastes, speak to so many sorts of people, take into consideration so many interests that this effect necessarily blunts the challenge which the appearance of unliked programs or artists arouses. On the other side, at the same time, it may reduce the intolerance of the viewers if they learn to select wisely from what is offered, saying, "They are not showing this or that for me." The five million angry men (the adult viewing public) have come to this position already--in the case of children's programs. In regard to other types of programs the viewer is not yet so tolerant, but we hope that he will be capable of development, and television--in its own way--could encourage this. With such programs as the recently broadcast Voltaire series was. Certainly many understood the motto of the film prepared about the life of the "little devil": "I do not agree with what you say, but I will fight to the last for your right to say it."

8984  
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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party for Normalization

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 24-25 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Ludwik Krasucki]

[Text] Last year at this time, in answer to the question of what is of the most importance, the response: "normalization" automatically presented itself. Let us remember, this was after disruptions organized on the anniversary of the agreements and before the date planned by the underground for a large demonstration commemorating the former Solidarity's registration anniversary. We know the aftermath. Slogans of the underground and its supporting publicity met with constantly diminishing response. Within a half a year of the suspension of martial law, conditions permitting its suspension presented themselves. The final attempt to disrupt the peace at the end of August proved that normalization is becoming an accomplished fact.

In addition to this, an undoubtedly positive and optimistic fact is the emergence of questions to which we in the party have to find answers for ourselves jointly and each for himself. These refer to the basic question of how we are to understand normalization and what purpose it is to serve.

What kind of normalization should we be seeking in this process? Surely not our characteristic norm that was widespread before the declaration of martial law, which in reality was the reason for its enactment. Norms that were characterized by unending strikes, helplessness and chaos, actions of forces aiming toward confrontation with the authorities, a flood of antisocialist propaganda. No person who soberly and responsibly considers Polish affairs could want this to happen.

So should we possibly accept the attitudes of normalcy which existed prior to August 1980? The characteristic norms of that period after all were policies of economic voluntarism, investment and credit euphoria, evidence of constantly increasing economic collapse shielded by illusions of the so-called "propaganda of success," development and subsequent deterioration of a socialist-democratic institutions, departure of party activities from democratic principles, toleration of unlawful and demoralizing use of

privileges. So, the norms of those days cannot be accepted as a model for the normalization that we are now seeking.

These problems were discussed at the Ninth Congress, which defined current general directions of party activities, and then at the Seventh Plenum, which enlarged on the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and adapted them to a language suitable for emerging conditions. One of the most important party slogans comes from the assertion of the first secretary that there can be no return to pre-August aberrations or pre-December anarchy.

The normalization we have to pursue we will find, in relating its process to the future, contained in the aims and methods for their attainment within the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. Normalization understood in this way represents the gradual creation of new, better conditions in our collective existence, and in every area: ideology, politics, economics and morality, including party activities encompassing these endeavors.

Positive goals for this period are the achievement of an extensive national understanding and economic reform with its related socioeconomic policies. This will intensify socialist democracy and increase national efficiency. This is the answer to all modifications of procedures for the party's leading role and for the order and methods of their activities. This is an intensification in the struggle with all kinds of carelessness and irresponsibility, indifference and inefficiency, bureaucracy and callousness, social wrongs in all of their numerous forms.

The norm to which you have to relate current activities is contained in the party program plans embodied in a condensed understanding of socialist renewal. In this light normalization is not an end in itself, but a condition necessary to gain not only an ambitious goal, but also a more complex one. It is the preliminary requirement for proceeding much deeper and further than our present experiences permit.

We say that the PKP [Polish State Railroads] is normalized because there are no strikes, protests, hostile inscriptions or pamphlets. Everything is normal, except that every other train is late. There is a normalization in the construction trade, except that its material consumption continues to beat European records, dates for completion are lengthening and costs rising. There is a normalization in the business field, except that the plagues tormenting clients for years have not disappeared. There is a normalization in education, except that the quality still leaves a lot of room for improvement. There is a lot of formalism but not enough vivid forms for influencing.

For many years we have been accustomed to negative indicators placing us much below our objective possibilities. The expression "norm" has just such a bitter and derisive connotation. Normalization does not depend on an agreement with a norm. On the contrary, an indispensable preliminary condition in this case is to get to the crux of the matter, to remove it beyond our lives. In opposition to the "norm," normalcy is understood to mean good organization and high productivity; effectiveness in all areas of

management, which results in improved living conditions for working people; genuine form and living content of institutions of socialist democracy; the promotion of cooperation among people of good will; the party's role in realizing these goals being not through command but through the stimulation of desired processes and influence on people's attitudes, through words and its own example. This is the way the essence and aim of normalization should be understood.

In a hard struggle we have won peace and order for our nation. The time has come when, in our attempts at renewal and also in efforts for the realization of the Ninth Congress' program, we have to catch our second wind. At this time the answer to the question "Where are we heading?" becomes most important. This is a great topic for discussion at the approaching reports-elections campaign in the party and for today's contemplation.

#### Directives for Ideological-Indoctrination Activities

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 26 Sep 83 p 5

[Article by dk: "Functions of The Health Services"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Wloclawek yesterday assessed preparations for ideological activities of the provincial party organization for the coming school year. The chairman of the Provincial Deputies Group, Wieslaw Czernik, and Wloclawek Governor Tadeusz Gembicki took part in the deliberations. In the estimation of the meeting's participants, projected plans for ideological activities are adequate and conform to the directives of central authorities, and also take into account existing conditions in specific organizations and centers.

The role of party indoctrination in our country at the time of ongoing ideological struggle was stressed. It is imperative to find a broader way to reach the young people in determining themes for assignments or meetings, e.g., more extensive rationalization of international problems and all consequences of the arms race, as well as the subject of our economy. Much time has been given to educational improvement methods, effectiveness of basic education and the choice of candidates. It was determined that ideological subject matter should be given more room by POP's [basic party organizations]; it must be placed in the forefront more often.

Summarizing this part of the discussion, in the estimation of the PZPR Provincial Committee's Executive Board, it should be decided that further improvements in the educational system must be made. This, of course, will depend upon the decisions of the participants and the regional party divisions.

The following subject under discussion was the performance of the provincial health service in the years 1983-1985. Placed in the foremost position of

debate was expansion of the facility and the basic organization as well as medical services. These issues were taken under consideration in conjunction with findings of an earlier field meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board in Lipno. Discussed were the investigative policies, including temporary measures, and attempts by the organization to improve health service. Among other things emphasized was the absolute necessity of stabilizing personnel transfers and attempting to enlarge the medical, nursing and assisting staffs.

During the deliberations approval was gained for the courses of action taken by POP's in regional administrative organizations.

#### Party Responsibility

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Lucyna Lyszczak]

[Text] In Warsaw at the PZPR Central Committee, the regularly scheduled meeting of first secretaries of party plant committees from 200 leading Polish plants was convened. At the same time, in Poznan, at the plenary meeting, the City District Committee Poznan-Jezyce also held deliberations. These concurrent meetings, seemingly distant from each other, are joined by their subject matters and goals. Both groups were engaged in evaluating sociopolitical and economic situations in work establishments and on the basis of their findings formulated assignments for party organizations. There was only a difference in the range of problems presented--nationwide vs. one of the Poznan city districts.

Proof of unity in the party and its membership at the so-called "top" and "bottom" were the problems of responsibility, party assignments and the chance to be equal to the task of realizing leadership of the party everywhere in every situation by all members of the PZPR, which were taken up by secretaries of large important plant committee party organizations and those of smaller POP's.

I am presenting these two examples to point out the common problems facing all party organizations in work establishments, problems and assignments for today and tomorrow. Tomorrow is the most pressing, i.e., the reports-elections campaign. Kazimierz Barcikowski talked about this in Warsaw, emphasizing the fact that already at this time we have to think about having this campaign create benefits for the party, for all working people. The campaign should consistently take account of the recommendations made during the last campaign and honestly appraise the attitudes of the people.

In Poznan at Jezyce, Jan Kus and the secretary of the POP at the Domena shoe factory talked about the fact that half a year ago there were discussions with party members who neglected their regulated assignments, did not attend meetings, did not respect resolutions and recommendations of their organization. Some of them took advantage of the occasion, others did

not. Now the organization has to cleanse itself of the passive "paper" members. "I believe, stated the first secretary of the POP at the finishing department of Wiepofama [Wielopolska Mechanical Equipment Factory] at the City District Committee plenum, "that the POP has to fight for party objectives in the shop. It ought to develop an atmosphere of partnership with labor unions, self-government of the workers and youth organizations. Also, it should stand up for worthy individuals who have experienced a temporary breakdown, but rid its ranks of passive members who still have expectations, disregarding party discipline."

For instance, take the case of labor unions. It was unequivocally confirmed in Warsaw that members of the PZPR cannot remain outside class-based labor unions; furthermore, they have an obligation to serve within their ranks.

There are, however, establishments--and the Poznan Wiepofama is no exception--where still only half of the party members participate in labor union activities.

A mutual problem for all establishments are difficulties with the staffs. In the M. Kasprzak Graphic Workshop in Poznan this is a major problem.

The role and obligations of Poznan's POP's are therefore very similar to those posed by the party to all party organizations in work establishments. There is unanimity of tasks and similarity of problems, but they seemingly appear on a macro and micro scale. In reality, party organizations ought to be the motivating force for changes within work shops.

Central Committee Secretary K. Barcikowski confirmed during the Warsaw Conference that the present important obligation is to visualize how many different cases and problems there are in an actual plant which should be the subject of mutual attention and cooperation between the party and labor union.

That distinct party responsibility is the point of departure for all party organizational activities in the workplace.

A very difficult term is coming to an end. One filled with ideological struggles, a fight for authority and a place for the party within the work place. An honest appraisal of human attitudes, fruitful decisions based on the supporting resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, will be permanent results of the approaching reports-elections campaign.

#### Party Recommendations From Crisis Analysis

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 27 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by (b)]

[Text] Yesterday in Elblag, with the participation of PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Heronim Kubiak, the new year of ideological education in the

provincial party organization was inaugurated. In addition to the lecturers, instructors in education present were, among others: members of the PZPR Provincial Committee with First Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki; chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee, Franciszek Socha; Elblag Governor Col Ryszard Urlinski.

After a characterization of the meeting by Provincial Committee Secretary Henryk Szumielski in its ideological educational meaning for members of the PZPR and the aims presented in it for the new school year and after honoring outstanding lecturers and instructors, Heronim Kubiak gave the inauguaral lecture on the subject: "Reasons for Crises in the History of Post-War Poland." Following this, he answered questions from the floor.

The lecturer reminded the participants that the Ninth Congress of the PZPR indicated the necessity for conducting a comprehensive analysis of crisis sources in our post-war reality and presenting corrective measures. A special commission undertook the preparation of this document. This commission was comprised of distinguished specialists in a variety of fields, as well as rank and file representatives of the labor class, who brought in many practical remedies to the theoretical considerations. The committee's work was of a pioneering nature, arduous, reaching into archival sources, thousands of scattered documents in many places and a large number of witnesses of specific incident. Also required was the arrangement of an enormous number of fragmentary expert reports, which made synthesis and suitable generalizations possible.

The commission has completed its work and its report has been submitted to party authorities. In a short time it should reach the basic party organizations, where undoubtedly it will become the topic of numerous and varied discussions and reflections.

The "Report" is not, since this was not the intention of the Ninth Congress, a post-war history of Poland, nor a post-war history of the party; however, a historical background is noticeable in its outline. It is a reliable summary of knowledge available at this time, particularly in the area of most difficult post-war periods in the history of the party and nation embroiled in constant crises.

The speaker depicted to the commission techniques employed by him in supervising the "Report" draft, together with a multitude of related problems. He later characterized briefly individual parts of the "Report."

It required more time for H. Kubiak to dwell upon the subject of conditions in Poland's development of socialism and its deformities. He emphasized that in the light of the facts obtained from the "Report" on this subject, there can be only one conclusion, which is that crises occurred when there were discrepancies between generally accepted principles of socialism and theory, Lenin's experiences and actual results of these in practice, in conceptions, in assumptions, and in methods for their application, particularly since the party has been disassociating itself from its natural base, which is the working class, but more specifically the party's leadership

from the rank and file of its members. Of major consequence was the fact that there was an erroneous concept of economic policies, often justified in its assumption, together with an inability to profit from previous mistakes.

H. Kubiak additionally brought attention to current conditioning factors which are mandatory for a realization of the renewal program and achieving national understanding.

12306  
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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Olsztyn Teachers' Union Congress

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 27 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Bozena Wrzeszcz]

[Text] As previously reported, the programs-elections conference of the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP] took place in Olsztyn on Saturday, 24 September. A total of 112 delegates represented the almost 10,000 educational employees of our province--members of the renascent ZNP, a union which is in the process of creating a unified structure and which continues an almost 80-year old tradition.

Representatives of the provincial political and administrative authorities were the guests of the delegates. Among these guests were: the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Jan Laskowski; secretary of the Provincial Committee, Tadeusz Jelski; Olsztyn Governor Sergiusz Rubczewski; representatives of provincial echelons of the ZSL and SD. The first secretary of the PZPR City Committee, Stefan Strumillo, Superintendent of Education Andrzej Gerszberg, representative of the Ministry of Education Ludwik Rzewuski, and member of the former Main Board of ZNP and current plenipotentiary of ZNP assets Michal Langowski also participated in the deliberations. Otylia Groth, distinguished political and union activist, was the guest of honor at the conference.

The Polish Teachers' Union is being recreated in its old, unified structure. It was registered on 5 August 1983. It was recreated in the old form because such was the will of union organizations. Currently, the union has 300,000 members across the country.

"Education of young generations is one of the most vital social functions." This thought of Jozef Chalasinski served as a motto for the deliberations of the delegates of the provincial conference.

The role of the educational worker was guaranteed in the Teacher's Charter, adopted in January 1982. An intense discussion surrounded the attempts to change certain resolutions of the charter.

Wanda Garbaczewska (Bartoszyce):

--I never complained that I am doing badly in Poland, but I am fed up with hearing how we, the teachers, have it so good since we work only 18 hours. After 30 years of work, I earn 9,500 zlotys. The Teacher's Charter was introduced and now there is talk of changing it. How are we to teach children to respect the Sejm and its legislation if this legislation is to be amended even before it becomes legally binding?

Jan Ceglarski (Ilawa):

--Ninety percent of peace among the teachers comes from the guarantees of the realization of the Teacher's Charter. Its change cannot be allowed.

Wladyslaw Sajur (Lidzbark Warminski):

--The charter is only what we deserve. I am astonished at the current attitude of the government towards this legislation. The union has to be a partner of the administration--it cannot be left out.

Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Olsztyn:

--You speak too rarely about the achievements, I hear too many complaints in this room. The prestige of the teaching profession has to be upheld. Certain segments of society have grievances against you, against teachers, not because you work 18 hours, but because our youth is not brought up the way it should be. As far as the provisions of the charter are concerned, however, I believe that it should stay in the form in which it was adopted.

Andrzej Gerszberg, superintendent of education:

--Educational authorities are for the full implementation of the provisions of the Teacher's Charter.

Michal Langowski, plenipotentiary of ZNP assets:

--Everybody has expressed support for the provisions of the Teacher's Charter. Who does it need to be defended from? During the meeting of unionists in the Baildon Steel Mill, General Wojciech Jaruzelski assured us that the provisions of the charter would be retained.

Delegates to the Sejm from Olsztyn Province expressed their support for the position of the union. The delegates also accepted a statement affirming that the government program amending the Teacher's Charter has not been consulted with the union. "Education and teachers need peace and a sense of legislative stability. The document presented to the Sejm does not promote the strengthening of peaceful and effective work in Polish schools."

The problem of creating the best conditions for the education of the young was also discussed. These conditions include both the material basis of education and the quality of the cadres.

Kazimierz Szutkowski (Szczytno):

--We need new schools and better equipment for the existing schools. Many places lack gymnasiums. We must also consider new forms of educating teachers--perhaps by a return to the idea of pedagogical high schools.

Edmund Pokojski (Szczytno):

--It is necessary to consider the possibility of training teachers in the colleges in two specialties: major and minor. It happens occasionally that in a rural school a historian must, for example, also teach Polish. As a historian this teacher is qualified, but in other disciplines he is unqualified. Decisions in this matter can be taken only on the highest levels.

Jan Ceglarski (Ilawa):

--Some schools in Ilawa work until 7 pm. A new school is needed as soon as possible. Teachers have many complaints about the quality of school books, which fall apart after several months of usage. Can one teach respect for a book when that book falls apart in your hands? Another problem is the necessity of a certain stabilization of school programs. Constant vacillations in this area do not encourage peace. Apartments, a sore point for teachers in towns and villages, constitute another important issue. I propose that schools should not be built without teacher's houses.

Marek Sadowski (Lidzbark Warmiński):

--Multi-industry housing is developing. Education could participate in these types of construction. There are people and there are materials, but money continues to be short. The possibility of improving the living conditions of educational workers in this manner should be considered.

Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee:

--The educational infrastructure does not satisfy the needs, and we will not be able to make all the necessary investments with the means at our disposal. A social movement centering on these issues is needed. Perhaps this could take the form of social committees in support of education. It is also indispensable to raise the status of the profession and of schools, and this status has to be created not only in the educational milieu but also in its environment. The inflow of unqualified cadres must stop because they lower the prestige of the profession, but that means also that every teacher should work more than 18 hours.

A number of speakers raised the issue of the status of educational workers who are not teachers. They earn less than the same occupational groups in other parts of the economy. This is why schools are short of custodians, cleaning workers, and stokers.

Anna Bogdziewicz (Olsztynek):

--The educational workers who are not teachers have a more important role to fulfill than their counterparts in other industries. Our workers have a greater responsibility, because we also influence the education of children. The most important issues which need taking care of concern the equalization of wages with workers in other areas of the economy. We would like it if our identification cards were not taken away after retirement since this would give us the right to discounts on transportation. Like teachers, we would like to have help in buying medications and in health leave. There is one more issue: apartments. Teachers have a right to receive apartments vacated by other teachers. I would like for the word "teacher" to be replaced by the phrase "educational worker."

Other topics discussed included the need to create positions for social workers in educational institutions, cooperation with the administration, the situation of retired persons, and, finally, the role of the union.

In secret balloting, the delegates chose a 35-member district board, an audit commission, 10 delegates to the national convention, and a chairman of the district board, who is, at the same time, a member of the Main Board of the ZNP. Ludwik Wieczorek, until now chairman of the Provincial Coordinating Commission of the ZNP in Olsztyn, was elected to this position. During the conference, the delegates also collected over 4,000 zlotys for the construction of a monument to the Polish Mother.

I asked the newly elected chairman, Ludwik Wieczorek, about the tasks and plans.

--The board and I will not consider ourselves as the union authorities, but always and everywhere we will represent the position of the conference and of the union members. Our most immediate task is to arrange the organizational issues, the constitution of the district board and certain changes in the organization of work. It is also necessary to establish the principles of cooperation with the educational and provincial administrations. We also plan to develop close cooperation with the Provincial Deputies Group.

#### Unionists Angered by Payment System

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 29 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Article by (ML): "Unionists Speak on the Wage System"]

[Text] A classical report of an official meeting begins with the presentation of the participants. This time the introduction will be different. Minister Edward Lukosz and Minister Stanislaw Ciosek did not participate in yesterday's national conference of the trade union members, founders of the Federation of the Metal and Electrical Machine Industry. These were to be consultations about the principles of the wage system. It is necessary to add that the originally planned date of the meeting had been changed and finally set for 28 September precisely in order to enable Minister Ciosek to attend the meetings in Krakow...

The absence of the ministers (present were only representatives of departments, persons, according to the unanimous opinion of the assembled, who did not have appropriate competence) provoked indignation among people assembled in the hall. This was expressed in a resolution which had been immediately sent to the chairman of the Council of State and to the marshal of the Sejm and to the premier of the government.

The resolution states also: "We are of the opinion that the principles published in the press do not constitute a starting point for factual discussion and we demand the presentation (...) of detailed projects of legal and structural solutions--that is, of the projects of resolutions and directives of the Council of Ministers to be consulted with the unions."

Thus, the discussion was made more difficult for two crucial reasons: there was nobody with whom things could be discussed and the subject of consultations was not defined in a sufficiently concrete manner.

During the meeting, representatives of approximately 350 union organizations spoke almost unanimously against fixing maximum hourly wages at 60 zlotys. Since the representatives of the ministry acknowledged that the authors of the project are aware that this sum is too low, there was another storm in the hall and an avalanche of questions on the sense of formulating projects, elements of which are considered to be wrong from the very beginning.

Much time was devoted to the proposed new principles of figuring out the Vocational Activization Fund [FAZ]. There were expressions of concern that these changes might lead to a lowering of wages in 1984. The representative of the Warsaw Mechanical Plants concluded: "The name should be changed to Vocational De-activizition Fund."

Other topics raised by speakers, and later made more specific in resolutions, included: excessive wage preferences for the raw material industry; how to introduce harmoniously numerous supplements into the wage system; how to avoid the discrimination against small and medium enterprises which has been in effect until now.

According to the assurances offered in conclusion by the representative of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, the period of consultations will be extended...

#### More on Unionists' Payment System

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 29 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Article by (g): "Controversially on Wages"]

[Text] According to the statute, trade unions represent and defend employee interests, i.a., by offering opinions on drafts of various kinds of laws concerning important problems of the work force. About 500 persons representing 330 enterprises of the metal and electrical machine industry from the entire country had gathered yesterday in the hall of the Krakow WSP [Higher

Pedagogical School] for this purpose, that is, to conduct as partners a discussion with the department authorities on the subject of the new principles of employee remuneration. The draft of the new system of remuneration was published in August in RZECZPOSPOLITA by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs with an invitation for a public discussion about it.

There was a great deal of rancor in the hall when the delegates learned that Deputy Minister Janusz Gorski cancelled his visit to Krakow at the last minute and that the modest representation from the ministry was only authorized to listen to what the representatives of an industry of a great importance for the national economy had to say about the proposed system of wages. Officially and in the lobbies people remembered the difficulties of all-night travels and of the many hours spent preparing materials and speeches and asked what they could bring back to their work crews.

Thus, the union meeting turned out to be yet another coordination of the common position of the metal and electrical machinery industry, rather than an exchange of views between partners, the departmental authorities and the union authorities of the most powerful federation in Poland.

From the dozens of statements heard yesterday one can draw several common conclusions. The most basic of these conclusions is that the proposed system of wages does not satisfy the employees of the machine industry. First, despite popular opinion, the project assumes the flattening of wages despite its postulated principle of paying for the work, but not the same amount to everybody. Secondly, the calculation of the predicted decrease in real wages should constitute an integral part of the document. One of the discussants stated that the size of this decrease as given by Minister Krasinski does not take into consideration many additional factors, such as, for example, the self-management of housing cooperatives, many of which are suddenly raising their rents by as much as 70 percent. Thirdly, the new system should give preferences not according to which enterprise the employee belongs to, but according to his occupation, and the supplements for harmful work conditions should be matched with positions and not industries...

The majority of unionists shared the view that the change in the remuneration system cannot lead to the lowering of real wages. It is also necessary to fix a new minimum wage and, at the same time, change the system of family supplements.

In the commentary on yesterday's meeting of union activists of the machine industry, the so-called "other side of the coin" should also be noted. The point is that on a topic which arouses as much agitation as wages, nobody will be able to satisfy all the industries. As proof we can cite a whole pile of remarks which had thus far reached the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, remarks which are often contradictory and mutually exclusive. It is really a pity that the representatives of the ministry who were present yesterday in the WSP hall were unable to explain clearly many central and side issues to the unionists.

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PARTY LEADER OUTLINES CULTURAL POLICY GOALS

Warsaw ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 39, 25 Sep 83 pp 1, 10

[Article by Witold Nawrocki, Director of the Central Committee Culture Department: "The Intellectual's Situation in Socialism. Before the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] We often say that socialism not only is a proposition for changing and building new structures for socioeconomic relations, but it also contains within it a set of general values created during the process of historical development of generations of workers, values that are expressed by the establishment of a new axiological system enabling the working class to orient itself in the world and against the world in which it lives and which subjects the process to a new management by transforming and reconstructing it. In this manner, culture becomes an inseparable part of the cognitive and organizational functions of the hegemony of living socialist practice that is of the working class and its vanguard--the workers' party.

The revolution demolished the old Polish intellectual myths concerning the need to formulate a social superconsciousness and gradually to adapt a class of producers to it; these postpositivist myths still languish on the fringes of literature among the heirs of clericalism and bourgeois liberalism. They roam as ghosts of 19th century notions concerning the mission of the intellectuals which from time to time are saturated with the blood of conviction about the special function of intellectuals (Karl Mannheim, Ernst Fischer, Ivan Svitak, the Polish theoreticians of Solidarity's anarchosyndicalistic doctrines and the like). The working-class state has liquidated all the old intelligentsia functions except the professional ones, although during a diversified period the state wants to and needs to take advantage of the help and support of the intelligentsia. The proletariat and its party have reserved for themselves the right to form opinions and views, to select the social and cultural values and criteria that should be the essence of society's cultural education. The Polish working class not only formed its own system of primary cultural values, but also endowed it with a national character. Contemporary culture, formed by the working class, has become a culture based above all on the categories of work, on respect for work, on honesty, class solidarity, reliability, cooperation, perseverance and altruism. The culture-creating influence of the working class also asserted itself in overcoming the relics of the old culture of the owner classes: passivism and outmodedness, isolation and class egoism,

pessimism and living in the past, being the foundation of the cultural attitudes of the classes descending from a stage of history.

The nation's future has been reidentified and recultivated: the tradition no longer exists in the canon that was created by the nation's defense requirements or even as a glamorous amaranth scheme often used to hide the truth about the egoism, low intellectual culture, narrow-minded quietism, xenophobia, economic uselessness and laziness of the nobility, who for a long time determined via its "fateful force" the sociomoral attitudes of the nation's non-peasant classes. The working class introduced into the national axiological canon the issue of human labor and, in accordance with its own experiences generalized by the theory of Marxism, made it the principal element of theoretical sociomoral and practical-organizational reflection long before the appearance of the Catholic Church's long revised positions pronounced in the encyclicals "Mater Et Magistra," "Redemptionis Hominis," and "Laborem Exercens" that were forced by the worker movement and which are echoed in Solidarity's ideas on labor and the dignity of a productive man.

Culture is a world true to the ideas of the working class. The interests of the working class require that culture must serve above all as a materialistic understanding of the world in order to rationalize and not mystify it, and that it should proclaim itself for the revolutionary transformation of culture. It is not alienation but rather the struggle to overcome its results that is the problem of the era; it is activism, not passivity; it is the masses passing judgment on the contents and development of culture, not elitism.

The application in social practice of the fundamental principles of socialist ideology is the cultural policy. Not too long ago we witnessed and to some extent are still witnessing a ruthless attack on this policy. From the anarchosyndicalistic, utopian moralistic and existential positions of the extreme right-wingers proclaiming the decline of socialist humanism, or of the far left wingers calling the humanism and anthropological perspectives of Marxism a "sentimental ideology," and from the Christian position an attack is being conducted on socialist ideology; an attempt is being made to subdue modern Polish culture in the area of awareness, challenging our view of the world and of individual man with non-Marxist ideological concepts.

Today it is difficult to encounter a trend of philosophy or ideology having a narrower sociopolitical profile that would not cite more or less the generally formulated "principles of humanism," "the defense of human rights," and "ideals for emancipating mankind" that are declined in the intellectual arrangements of social democratism, liberalism and the radical social movements proclaiming the need for a fundamental revaluation of all values by elements that are independent and not susceptible to manipulation. This task was directed to the youth in our variation of the sociopolitical movement created by Solidarity and based on Marcuse, or to the intellectuals based on Fischer. In the intellectual movements of Poland's recent years of crisis we find the specifics for the antisocialist requirements of ideological struggle in the theories adapted from Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno on the need to revolt against all those called upon to disseminate the values or the judgments conveyed on socialism regarding "the end of the age of ideology" that were made years ago by Daniel

Bell or Raymond Aron. Regarding socialist ideology--following the path of Mannheim's ideas--the thesis is propounded that each formulated and complete concept of ideology is a form of false consciousness and limited "point of view," a perspective of class that deforms and limits the recognition of reality. In association with the last statement, Mannheim's thesis is often used; it is impossible to know the objective truth in a gnosiological process realized by one class, but that this can be achieved by a social group that stands above classes and that is destined always to discover that point from which an overall orientation in events is possible.

That group was supposed to be the intelligentsia, the intellectuals. This concept has appeared quite frequently lately in various theoretical concepts that have been applied in counterrevolutionary practices to recollect the work of Ernst Fischer, Ivan Svitak, Leszek Kolakowski and other, more modern theoretical manifestations. Nonetheless, a false consciousness of these ideological positions is always someone's consciousness, a specific answer for certain social and life situations. It also is known that people expressing a false consciousness also create real history, take on real social problems and organize a group of people to implement their ideas, and thus they should not be ignored or taken lightly. This also makes it necessary to expand the discussion of the fundamental problems of the axiology of contemporary culture, to form fronts and to expand the flow of polemics concerning freedom, objective knowledge, activism, human beings, work, free time and the like or, in other words, concerning an optimally fruitful and accurate interpretation of the existence of a socialist ideology in contemporary culture, especially in the sphere of artistic production that is subject to the process of dissemination and that decides the quality of cultural intercommunication in our society.

The cultural policy errors of the 1970's made it increasingly difficult for the main social classes of the Polish nation to access culture and to a large extent they were excluded from it. The errors and remissions committed in the practice of cultural life also led to deformations that were based on deviations from the classical character of cultural policy by:

--the divergence of artistic productions from society's needs (especially indoctrinational needs), through which the party lost the ability to formulate "commissions" regarding artistic productions (which was caused by the cancellations of the pre-October period and the insufficient activity in formulating new goals for socialist culture);

--the dislocation of values in the social cycle brought about by limiting the material and organizational conditions for society's participation in culture;

--the insufficient concern about developing the cultural competence of the vast circles of public participants in culture, especially by not respecting the popular communication cycles for artistic works and the atrophy of the popular expression of art;

--not enough activity in popularizing the socialist values of culture and the diffusion of consumer and bourgeois ideals that are incompatible with these values and that are based on axiological systems that are incompatible with socialism;

--insufficient activity in combating culturally-expressed values that are incompatible with socialist ideology or in combating the enemies of socialism, which encouraged the opposition centers to build up an unofficial cycle, to formulate concepts negating the achievements of the Polish People's Republic in the realm of culture and its democratization (the "cultural desert" concept, the alleged impoverishment of the canon of tradition) and to expound postulates for forming alternative solutions in the cultural policy based on anarchosyndicalism and other conservative ideological concepts expounded by various circles of the political opposition.

The Ninth PZPR Congress gave top priority to the goals of cultural policy and once again upgraded to top priority the primacy of the axiological systems that express values flowing from sources of socialist ideology. Social practice confirms the concordance of the declaration of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress with the implemented decisions as indicated, for example, by the following:

--the creation of bases for a more effective system for financing culture by creating the National Culture Fund;

--initiating work on legislation to regulate legally the dissemination of culture and the activities of artistic institutions;

--implementing a system for the social management of culture by creating the National Culture Council;

--the significant improvement in the publication of books, the most widespread cultural good;

--starting work on reforming the operations of state patronage by creating new systemic solutions;

--initiating work to program the activities of artistic institutions to mold their activities effectively in a manner such that an artistic production will be in accord with social needs, will suit the prestige of various circles of recipients, including the second and third levels of receipt, which to date have been the public that has been disregarded and abused;

--eliminating the division of Polish art between the vanguard and amateurism, for example, in film productions, the theater and games;

--creating optimal material and organizational conditions for the social participation in culture of the primary classes as well as children and young people, with special attention to the polycentric model formed by Polish culture.

In the creative intelligentsia communities, which along with the entire society have lived through the dilemmas of the time in which we live in a manner peculiar to themselves, the party is inspiring and conducting activities to overcome the ideological-artistic crisis in which these communities and their representatives (artist unions) find themselves. The cultural imperialism of the United States and its allies have made artistic culture an arena of sharp

struggle with socialism. It is being implemented by the opposition group, which during the sociopolitical crisis managed to gain organizational control over the artistic associations. They are supported by the new and old political emigration centers which have extensive influence and many branches in Poland's creative intelligentsia communities.

The "patronage of the West" over the contested activities of artists and over their artistic productions is being systematically expanded and financed, and its primary goal is to try to make it impossible in effect to create art on our own in our country. To this end, the goal is to build a center of emigrant artistic creators as an alternative to a Polish center and action is being taken to systematically lead Polish literature, actors, musicians and the like abroad.

Many factions of the creative communities are now operating in the political opposition's orbit, playing a destructive role. They are those who in the artistic sphere, and above all, via nonartistic political demonstrations are declaring themselves for that which is reactionary, that which harms the nation and the socialist community, and that weakens the implemented policy for understanding and stabilization. Some sympathize with those Western political circles that want to change the peaceful order in Europe. Other anti-peace, revisionist groupings in the FRG acknowledge that they are ready to cooperate and collaborate, especially as expressed by the formation by some artists of an FRG-variant germanophile movement. There are those who, in associating themselves with the outworn ideas of the Great Emigration, are conducting systematic activities against socialism, are organizing new systems of cultural communications and are enlisting them in a struggle against the socialist state and the sociocultural order (Kazimierz Brandys, Leszek Kolakowski, Krzysztof Pomiar and others).

The front for ideological struggle in the name of socialism must be strengthened further by rebuilding, among other things, the status of Marxist artistic criticism, by improving the output of literary-artistic magazines and the activities of the mass media organs. It is essential to take action to eliminate groups in the artistic communities that support the antinational attempts of the political opposition or that disturb the ongoing normalization of the artistic communities. Where persuasion and proposals for constructing compromise solutions failed (which are possible as shown by the solutions achieved in the film making, composing, photography, architectural and music communities), the party sought administrative measures as in the cases of the ZASP [Union of Polish Actors], ZPAP [Union of Polish Artists in the Plastic Arts] and ZLP [Union of Polish Writers]. Efforts and goals to restore the disbanded artist unions on new bases have also been set in motion.

At this time I would like to say a few words about the intellectualist situation in the party, which has been under discussion in the communist movement for over a half century. In moments of crisis in the communist movement, the intelligentsia communities are spurred to greater activity and in various forms by Karol Kautski's old slogan cast in the book "The Second Day After the Revolution" that is expressed in the sentence "communism in material production, and anarchism in intellectual production." Also nourishing are the

ideas of Leon Trotsky concerning the separation of art from ideology, negating political links with culture and questioning the party's rights to direct the cultural process. In his article "Party Policy in Art," Trotsky acknowledged that the party of the proletariat has the right to direct the working class, and he also admitted that there is no reason for the party to interfere in art. We find elements of Trotskyism in many of the program drafts or postulates announced in the artistic communities or in their name during the 1970's and 1980's.

The problem of artists in the party, so characteristic of the discussions in Europe in the 1930's and at the close of the 1960's, has also reappeared here in Poland and requires a special party treatment. The intellectual cannot pretend to be above the party if he wants to remain in it. Thus, the intellectual left must have its program, conduct its struggle concerning modernity and against cultural reaction, remembering that it proceeds in his squalid world against the remnants of classes who do not need a modern cultural program to maintain their existence; instead they need conservative, self-preservation cultural concepts. In the 1930's Ladislav Novomesky asked: "Is a struggle against that class possible outside its parties?" He also called for solidarity and discipline of the intellectuals in the party's ranks so that they could form effective organization in the political struggle against the opposition. He wrote: "It also is not enough to accept the program of the communists, to believe that revolution is the only answer and to sympathize with the masses when the party wants to be and must be a collective of active and disciplined political economic warriors. It makes no sense to ignore the existence of the party and to stand above it, especially then when the intellectual left can count on its support. A writer can be in the party, but he does not have to; he can never assert himself over it. He must always be with it." This framework of problems requires thorough rethinking, taking as a point of departure all that we have experienced and are experiencing during the sociopolitical crisis period and to seek ways out of historical oppressions and cycles. This range of problems also includes the problem--how very Polish--of the so-called moral right to debate and argue with the opposition that is limited by various types of conventions and precedents based on knightly ethics. In taking initiatives in a situation that is highly inappropriate, that is when it is in conjecture, an opponent is already supposedly on the floor and incapacitated, while in fact he defends himself and continues to attack with all available means to him. The proposal to consider an agreement achieved by honest debate and argument, which is the father of truth, also has a place here.

The state in which artistic culture found itself in Poland at the turning point of the 1980's can be defined as a serious threat to its socialist character. Thus, the party's cultural policy must include elements of ideological struggle in defense of the questioned and shaken values of socialist culture. Undoubtedly, the primary direction of this struggle should encompass the following:

--arguments to counter total negation of the cultural accomplishments of People's Poland, to defend and expound the scale of its achievements;

--actions to counteract and combat the hierarchical systems of values promoted by the opposition that are based on using categories of political prestige and not on artistically and methodologically verified evaluations. This will be possible by the competent and objective influence of Marxist criticism and the construction of systems of values such that the trivial scale of political systems of evaluations used by the opposition relative to the creativity of the opposition and the emigrants will be eliminated;

--arguments to combat the occidental thesis concerning Poland belonging exclusively to the Western cultural order and about the "bridging" significance of Polish culture, thus causing our culture to function as a "semiconductor" of cultural currents flowing from West to East;

--combating the thesis about the Christian and above all the Catholic origin of Polish culture, which is contrary to its prehistoric relic order and the anticlerical, rationalistic and leftist traditions of the Polish intelligentsia constructing the most fundamental frameworks of Polish culture. In this context, the thesis concerning the messianic character and significance of Polish culture is emerging, which is often accentuated in a way that accommodates a nationalistic way of thinking;

--combating the trend of creativity that came to the fore during the crisis (especially in literature and film) that is of an antisocialistic ideological meaning, of ineffective artistic value, but that has significant anticomunist political content and is promoted as true and outstanding art;

--exposing the political, ideological and moral bases built up by the "front for renewal" opposition;

--combating those who desire to maintain the political options in culture which existed prior to 13 December 1981, as well as combating attempts to convince artists to emigrate "internally" or "externally" in defiance of the logic of the development of Polish culture to the detriment of its integrity and circles of consumers.

In the framework of the culture policy drawn from the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and subsequent party documents, the following goals are essential:

--guaranteeing complete sovereignty to Polish culture, conducting a cultural policy that is open to all values of world culture that are not contrary to socialism. We resist and will combat all forms of Western "cultural imperialism," especially manifestations of so-called Western patronage over artists and creativity in Poland;

--party guarantees of ideological and programmatic inspiration for creativity. In accordance with the spirit of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, we are going to apply ideological-artistic preferences that promote the building and extensive influence in the social cycle of works that will jointly promote society's socialist consciousness;

--regulating the situation in the artistic unions and communities in accordance with the legal and political principles of our system. Serving this end are the patient efforts of officials collaborating with party and non-party artists who want to eliminate political influence of opposition groups over artist unions. The opposition is not stepping aside voluntarily, which forced the authorities to take such actions as disbanding the artist unions. However, the front for conservative forces is expanding, realism is beginning to dominate, and the opposition groups are losing the support of the vast majority of artist circles and are increasingly representing only themselves and their Western principals (the ZLP and Puciata and his group in the ZPAP);

--striving to rebuild in the artistic communities self-governing, autonomous artistic-professional representations that in partnership with the state will defend the professional interests of the communities and will influence the development of artistic culture for society. However, we will not permit artistic unions to be used as heretofore to conduct a struggle against socialism in our country in order to transform them into opposition political parties;

--as a primary task, the party also considers expanding access to basic culture for the social classes as well as for children and youth, and the realization of this task is basic in the hierarchy of socialism's social goals; the party will dedicate its primary efforts to this task;

--in the sphere of primary tasks, there also is the expansion of the social management of culture, continual concern about communicating as extensively as possible essential and useful values in the area of forming society's socialist consciousness by democratizing access to cultural goods.

And that must be acknowledged as the party's primary ideological task in the sphere of culture.

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NATIONAL CULTURE COUNCIL OFFICIAL OUTLINES GOALS, GAINS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 236, 5 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Prof Bogdan Suchodolski, National Culture Council chairman, on how the council has been discharging its duties during the past half year of its existence and what immediate future goals it has: "Half Year of the National Culture Council's Existence: Past Action and Future Goals-- Statement by Prof Bogdan Suchodolski" by Romuald Zaluska.]

[Text] [Suchodolski]: The initial period of our work was filled up with numerous organizational undertakings, thanks to which, insofar as we could expect and still do, the council as a whole and its board are operating successfully. We created several important groups to handle various problems and tasks that face the council. We have been more and more involved in assessing the situation in various areas of culture, particularly in the realm of publishing. We have issued expert opinions on drafts of laws and ordinances the government had prepared. We have worked on the problems of the cultural education of society, and we have initiated a lively discussion on the list of school textbooks. We have undertaken work on the program of music education for children and young people. We have begun an analysis of the situation regarding inequality of access to culture, especially in rural areas, and the role of popular and folk theater. We formulated postulates concerning the revaluing of Starowka Wroclawia. We have taken up the problem of Polish culture in the world.

If I were to name some of our ad hoc analytical actions of particular significance today, I would first of all point out our efforts to accelerate the work on the construction of the National Library in Warsaw and perhaps even talk more pointedly about the resumption of this work, inasmuch as the work on the construction site during a certain period nearly died altogether. I should also like to recall our concern for the reactivation of the Silesian Museum, which was destroyed by the Germans as a symbol of Polish culture. The building was ripped from the earth right down to the foundations and to the present day has not been rebuilt, either in the form of a new headquarters, which it should have, or in the form of a new collection of treasures which remain scattered. This seems to us to be a matter of great cultural and political importance, and the Silesian Museum which once was, once more should spring up as a symbol of the Polish nature of this land, so that it gains the possibility of new development during the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

Next I should like to mention that the government actively undertook the issues related to the publication and distribution of books. There are a great many problems here, problems of various sorts concerning the acceleration of book production and increased outlays, as well as technical quality in a certain realm. Also related to this is the question of making books available through private sales and in various sorts of libraries, in short, a whole complex network of issues concerning book production, librarianship, and the book trade.

Among our other activity we should mention at least the important matter of preparations for the council's plenary session, which will include discussion of the issue of the social movement in culture. This is an extremely important matter, because, as everyone knows, the government is to send the Sejm a law on the popularization of culture, to include an important decision on activity concerned with popularizing culture as conducted by the professional staff of appropriate institutions. This initiative should be supplemented by actions which encourage and extend spontaneous social activity in the realm of culture. We are convinced that it is just in those small groups which do not have any really rich organizational or material base in the cultural area, as we find or will find in the larger towns and great factories, that spontaneous social initiative has an irreplaceable role to play. We should like to devote the upcoming plenary session of the council to analyzing the situation which exists in the social cultural movement and to describing in detail everything which might bolster or assist this movement.

The second task in the immediate future is related to continuing the meetings already begun with ministry leaders. It is clear to everyone that the National Cultural Council has many joint tasks, problems, and questions that it shares with the Ministry of Culture and Art. Less obvious though is the fact that it also shares these problems with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Ministry of Higher Education. The great problem of the cultural education of youth, especially those attending trade schools, and the problem of culture among college students and research on culture are some of the problems we share. But we completely lose sight of everything that should be happening in culture through the initiative and concern of certain economic ministries. The ministry of agriculture is related to many rural cultural institutions and to the folk youth movement. It has access to and utilizes a whole system of monumental resources and so on. In all these places it is possible to provide assistance, or, on the contrary, to do harm, through neglect.

The provisions of the law on popularization of culture charge the great industrial enterprises with the obligation of being concerned about culture, about plant facilities, and so on, and so the industrial ministries too face cultural tasks which run parallel to our demands. We are promising to hold many meetings with the management and leaders of these ministries to outline the needs and possibilities concerning universal action in the realm of culture.

This also applies to the construction ministry. As everyone knows, the cultural facilities take the longest to build in the neighborhoods and residential areas, if any need for them is noticed at all.

In the immediate future we want to begin informal meetings at the royal palace to discuss freely the problems of cultural creativity and its dissemination. We are well aware that creativity cannot be mobilized for the asking, but we are convinced that a climate must be created that is auspicious to creative efforts. Let us say somewhat pathetically that it is necessary to call loudly for creativity, brave new creativity, creativity which will grab people and be close to them. I should like to begin these meetings with talks on the subject of the artist and society. This is an important problem not only in Poland but throughout the world. To what extent is art accepted, understood, desired by society, and to what extent and for what reason is the creative vision of artists sometimes not understood or is even rejected by society? Who is responsible for this? Undereducated society in terms of aesthetics? Or artists who use hermetic means of expression?

We think that the initiation of great dialogue between artists and consumers will be useful. And since these discussions are to take place in the year of Norwid, we are going to use the special symbolism of Norwid's biography and the fate of his poetry to consider the problematics of the society's consumption of works of art. We hope that under the new conditions of the life of the artistic community we will be able to cooperate and show concern for "managing" this realm, which organizationally the self-government and the government administration hold as joint property. It should be "spiritually" -- intellectually and artistically -- a community of artists and society. It is for this very reason that it is an area of particular concern to the National Culture Council, a council of artists and consumers.

10790  
CSO: 2600/139

MINISTER SPEAKS OUT ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCH, CULTURE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Oct 83 p 5

[Interview with Minister Prof Adam Lopatka, chief of the Office of Religious Affairs, by the Polish Press Agency: "Church Culture Within the National Culture"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] At the government meeting devoted to matters of culture, you presented your view of the role of church culture in the cultural life of Poland. Can you expand upon this any more? A Polish Press Agency correspondent addressed this question to Prof Adam Lopatka, chief of the Office of Religious Affairs.

[Answer] Church culture, and more precisely denominational culture, has been, is, and will remain an essential part of Polish national culture. This goes for architecture, painting, sculpture, music and singing, literature, rituals, and customs. The theological thread is also essential in intellectual and scientific culture; sectarian moralization is part of moralization in general. The thread of the history of religion and religious institutions also is present and will continue to be present in history.

There is also no lack of religious motifs in secular culture.

I should state frankly that in the Polish national socialist culture that is taking shape there is a permanent place for denominational culture. By this I mean not only the Catholic Church, but also other churches and denominational associations active in the past and present.

But there is another side to the question. There is a real threat that denominational culture, especially Catholic culture, is exceeding its proper place in the national culture. A tendency to subordinate the entire national culture to church culture and to eliminate from the national culture all progressive and revolutionary threads is evident. It is also easy to perceive a desire to introduce in their place cosmopolitan elements which are clearly opposed to internationalist elements. These tendencies tend to separate Polish national culture from the socialist culture of the people of other socialist states, and especially from the culture of Poland's neighbors.

We also have to deal with the phenomenon of the presentation of church political and legal culture as a desirable model for the political culture of the nation. Clearly apparent is the current of a struggle against a political culture developing from progressive national traditions, from the history of the workers' movement and their struggle for democracy as well as for social justice, from the history of the popular radical movement, and also from the democratic and enlightened traditions of the Polish intelligentsia.

Just as it would be a mistake to negate denominational culture within the national culture, it would also be a mistake not to counter trends to make the national culture clerical and cosmopolitan.

[Question] Are you opposing these inappropriate trends, and if so, how?

[Answer] It is primarily the creative environments themselves that should lead the struggle with these trends. They also should oppose patriotic and progressive elements appearing in the very current of denominational culture. Various postures and trends represent this culture, even those that are antithetical to each other.

Lay Catholic and Christian environments have an important role to perform. Their concern, after all, should be to shape a denominational culture that will not be a foreign body within Polish national socialist culture.

[Question] Do the state authorities have some role to play here?

[Answer] The state administration also has defined tasks to fulfill in this field. The state patron of arts and literature should always bear these complex matters in mind.

8729  
CSO: 2600/109

FORMER TRADE UNION PROPERTY DISTRIBUTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Dr Piotr Karpiuk, chairman of the Commission for Administration of Trade Union Assets, by Roman Chocyk]

[Text] Many proposals and questions were put forward by the participants of the meeting at the Baillod Steel Plant in Katowice concerned with the assets of the former trade union organizations. To answer them we asked Dr Piotr Karpiuk, chairman of the Commission for Administration of Trade Union Assets.

[Question] How great are these assets and what is the matter with them at present?

[Answer] The commission was instituted by the Council of Ministers in October 1982 and it administers assets of all former suprafactory organizations. After 1 January 1984 it will take over also the trade union assets in those enterprises where trade unions will not be formed. The value of the branch trade union assets was estimated at over 20 billion zlotys. We have invested most of these monies in high-interest deposits that should increase this sum by about 150 million zlotys annually.

The overall value of the property of the former Solidarity is about 1 billion zlotys. The current accounts amount to 609 million zlotys. We are experiencing great difficulties in grasping its real elements. Documents and inventory books are lacking. There was a general infringement of the financial regulations in force by the leaders of the former Solidarity. There also remain considerable commitments by virtue of various orders and purchases which we have to pay off.

Assets of the former autonomous trade unions are rather small. Their value amounts to about 30 million zlotys.

The permanent assets consist among other things of 94 rest centers and vacation homes and 41 sanatoriums. To this should be added residences of the former trade unions, clubs, hotels, office equipment, means of transportation, communication, typing, etc.

These assets are being carefully listed in our files. The trade union social, rest and cultural facilities continue to function. We have earmarked this year 400 million zlotys for their repair. A part of office and technical equipment was let out to various institutions in accordance with regulations.

[Question] The trade union leaders signal cases of the occupation of the premises and property of the former trade unions by the administration of enterprises and city authorities.

[Answer] In accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers of December 1982, all of the assets belonging to the workers' councils was transferred to the new trade unions. The remaining property, as I said before, is being managed by our committee.

There are, however, a number of problems resulting from so far unsettled property rights and it will be necessary to solve them shortly in such a way that the trade union assets will not be impaired to the slightest degree.

[Question] New unions are developing and there are being formed suprafactory organizations. The participants of the Katowice meeting--among others Wojciech Obarski, chairman of the Founders' Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers--pointed out financial difficulties with which these organizations are struggling and postulated the need for material aid, at least in the initial phase of the organization, for the federation and other national structures, from the Commission for Administration of Trade Union Assets.

[Answer] We are rendering them such aid. The needs of the new trade unions are being served by the Publishing Institute. We provide training for the trade union activists and give use of meeting halls, communication, and printing facilities. For the time being we cannot transfer the ownership of this property to them. In accordance with article 54 of the trade union law the rules and manner of the property transfer will be determined by a decision of the Council of Ministers after seeking advice from the trade unions themselves.

Practically speaking, we cannot yet determine the manner of its transfer for so far only a few suprafactory structures have been formed, the others are being organized. There should be more of them, the more so since the new structures do not match those that existed formerly.

[Question] Will not the matter that was pointed out by Jan Piesiur, deputy chairman of the Metallurgical Trade Union Federation, become the cause of misunderstandings?

[Answer] With regards to the property of the former branch trade unions, the commission is ready to transfer it as soon as the Council of Ministers decision is issued.

A separate, more complex problem is the property of the former trade union centers, for example, the Central Council of Trade Unions or the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity. How it is to be divided? I think that only in consultation with the respective branch union organizations and in a situation when some kind of national trade union structure will have been formed.

[Question] That will yet probably not happen for some time....

[Answer] I think that along with the formation of a greater number of the suprafactory structures it will be possible to make the necessary adjustments and begin at the end of the first quarter of the next year the transfer of the property, in which, as a commission, we are very much interested.

An urgent matter, which would solve until then the financial problems of trade unions, would be to issue rules that would permit us to lend to the already registered suprafactory organizations certain sums of money. They would be then adjusted in the later division of the assets.

1015  
CSO: 2600/58

SEJM DISCUSSES DRAFT PASSPORT LAW

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1-2 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] The Sejm Committees for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and for Legislative Work have discussed at a joint session on 30 September the government bills concerning changes in the passport law and in the penal revenue law, as well as changes in some provisions of the penal code and of the law on violations of the regulations.

The changes proposed in the passport law were characterized by Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Gen Bde Wladyslaw Pozoga. An analysis of the provisions of the law in force since 1959 and comparative investigations of solutions adopted in this respect in other countries, as well as experiences of the current passport policy, confirm the timeliness of the basic solutions adopted then, allowing the pursuance of a flexible passport policy. This was expressed by a dynamic increase in the number of trips abroad during the past decade. In the past year, despite martial law, over 1 million persons travelled abroad, and this year the frequency of departures has increased by 30 percent. The lifting of martial law has meant among other things a return to the assumptions of the passport law of 1959, now fully, to the principle that every citizen has the right to a passport.

Thus, the proposed changes take into account the demands of public opinion, including also the initiatives of the Sejm members, concerning the replacements of many general formulations--which in the public perception do not provide sufficient safeguards for a strict observance of the right of citizens to obtain passports--by more concrete and unambiguous wording. The too flexible regulations also were causing difficulties in the smooth functioning of the passport authorities.

The draft law has substantiated the notion of "important 'state' and 'social' considerations," for these very causes of passport denial were raising the greatest doubts. At the same time the obligation of the factual justification of all decisions concerning passport denials to citizens was introduced.

The Sejm deputies have supported the initiative of amending the passport law and directions of the suggested changes that met the expectations of society halfway. It was stressed that the solutions adopted in the draft amendment do restrict the arbitrariness in making passport decisions, which--in the social perception--did not fully guarantee the proper decision.

In particular, the requirement of justification--not only legal but factual as well--of a decision denying the granting of a passport should contribute to an increase of the confidence on the part of citizens in passport authorities. At the same time, however, as suggested among others by Deputy Maria Budzanowska (SD, electoral district of Piotrkow Trybunalski), it is worthwhile to consider whether it would not be right to supplement the higher-instance control of such decisions by court control. Attention was also drawn to the need to create conditions for normal work in the passport offices, which at present are experiencing rather considerable difficulties with respect to the premises and cadres. It would eventually result in a considerable shortening of the time of waiting for a passport and the avoidance of the more or less justified complaints of citizens which this entails.

The committees adopted in the first reading the draft law concerning changes in the passport law. A subcommittee has been elected, headed by Deputy Witold Gadomski (PZPR, electoral district of Kielce), which will appraise among other things how much the proposed solutions might be made even more precise and unambiguous.

The members of both committees also discussed the government proposals of changes in the provisions of the penal code. For the most part they consist of the realization of the previously imposed fines, penalties and other pecuniary charges. The intention of some of the proposed changes is a consistent treatment of the state of inebriety in all the violations of the regulations as an aggravating circumstance.

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CSO: 2600/44

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES KOSZALIN UNION ACTIVISTS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 4

[PAP report: "The Activities of All the People Are Decisive"]

[Text] On 22 October in Koszalin almost 400 trade union and workers' self-management body activists from the Koszalin Voivodship took part in a meeting with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The matter of fact discussion which lasted many hours dealt with the development of the trade union movement and of self-management bodies in the regions and nationwide.

It was stated that 51,000 working people in the Koszalin Voivodship belong to the new unions and that various union cells are active in 415 industrial plants and institutions. This means that 37 percent of the work force belongs to the unions, which is a great achievement on the national scale. Marianna Socha, from the Polish Teachers' Union, said that the teachers community is a particularly active one. Some 5,500 teachers have already joined the revived Polish Teachers' Union, which is over 60 percent of the teaching profession.

The emerging trade union cells are bringing together members with different viewpoints, it was said. Wincenty Szabunowicz, chairman of the Intropol cooperative's main administration in Koszalin, said that 45 percent of the plant's union members are former Solidarity activists.

The situation in other plants is similar. Therefore, the statement that the new unions are only composed of party members is not true. A positive phenomenon is the fact that workers are joining the unions. In the Koszalin Construction Works, for example, two-thirds of the union members are workers, and 25 percent of them are young people.

During the discussion, it was stressed that trade unions are becoming increasingly stabilized and that federations are emerging. This is an important step in understaking and resolving many union problems. The federations provide a wider forum for discussion with the administration. However, many of the speakers stressed that the road leading to union federation is not an easy one. The attitude taken by the administration toward plant trade unions and federations is also frequently indifferent.

Similar problems are often created by obstacles that hinder the increase of union membership. Zygmunt Toporowicz, a brick-layer and chairman of the Koszalin Construction Works, said that the fact that the administration consults the unions too late on the decisions that it makes, the diversified wages policy, and the frequent price changes also stop a lot of people from joining trade unions.

Many questions concerning private farmers and State Farm workers were touched on during the meeting because Koszalin is an agricultural region. The speech of Leon Gajewski, a farmer, was acknowledged with applause when he placed a loaf of rye bread on the rostrum and said that we will manage to become self-sufficient. And despite the fact that agriculture still needs many machines and fertilizers, it was said that livestock production can be increased through the efforts of the farmers.

The issue of the cultural needs of the work forces was raised. Emphasis was placed on social issues, saying that the administration does not always remember them. Many trade unions do, on the other hand, actively help the administrations of the plants to resolve production issues. In order to speed this process up, a demand was made for plants to specify the tasks of trade unions and workers' self-management bodies so that they will not interfere with one another. It was also said that we cannot abandon the positive achievements which the old unions have worked for and elaborated. On the contrary, we must take advantage of them.

Taking the floor, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that many issues that are important to trade unions and workers' self-management bodies were touched on during the discussion. We must agree with the view that organizational work must be started from the bottom and not from the top, and if one wants to develop socialist democracy then one should start from plants, rural areas, and towns. The success of the government's policies and the achievement of political, social, and economic goals is most often decided by the activities of all the people. The further development of trade unions depends, to a greater degree, on the kind of people who organize them and on the influence they have within their community.

Trade unions are not and will not be the party. They now bind and will continue to bind together working people with different attitudes, both party and non-party members.

Replying to the accusation that the government does not always consult the unions on prices, wages, and other issues, M. Rakowski said that consultation is a new branch of politics of people's power in Poland and that it must be tested in practice, which requires time.

M. Rakowski expressed his regard for all the activists who were the first to take on themselves the hardships of organizing the new trade unions. It was a difficult time and the decisions they made were courageous ones. At the moment, we must press on with other activities to develop trade unions. This is essential to the program of renewal and the democratization of the country, because the trade union movement represents the participation of the working people in joint management.

During the afternoon, M. Rakowski visited a housing settlement for young people in Szczecinek (in the Koszalin Voivodship) consisting of almost 100 one-family houses that had been built on the initiative of the members of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth.

COMBATING TERRORISM, SKYJACKING DESCRIBED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7-9 Oct 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by Kazimierz Zglejszewski: "Tiger in the Airplane"]

Sir, do I look like a terrorist? says a nervous elderly gentleman who is being asked to enter a special cubicle by security personnel.

I would be extremely grateful if you could tell me how one recognizes a skyjacker by merely looking. I have worked at the airport for 3 years and am not able to determine this. I must use a metal detector and therefore I request that you enter the cubicle.

It is outrageous to suspect each passenger. I will lodge a complaint. What are you looking for anyway? What is it that I may have on my person?

Since you do not know what is in your pockets, then do not be surprised that I wish to check them. Perhaps someone has tossed in a knife or pistol.

Silly jokes, the man says, shrugging, and goes behind the curtain. The barely audible sounds of the metal detector are heard, and after some 20 seconds the man leaves the cubicle.

He did not have anything, I say to the guard, Officer Krzysztof Sztanek. Was it necessary to disturb this elderly person?

He had keys which could have turned out to be a knife, while the pen could just as well have been a razor blade. There have already been hijackings carried out with a knife and razor blade. I cannot overlook the most insignificant details, because if I fail to catch a passenger who has something with which he can terrorize the flight attendant or pilot, then I would be endangering the lives of all the passengers on the plane.

It is not pleasant for us to have to check the passengers, since during a season each of us has to check about 500 passengers, and we are simply fed up. We are, however, held responsible for each passenger checked. In my journal I write the names of all the passengers and if (knock on wood) someone whom I

failed to check carefully then hijacks a plane, I will be faced not only with disciplinary action but also criminal responsibility for not carrying out my professional duties.

After all, says Officer Henryk Rezler (a 16-year veteran at the Warsaw-Okecie Central Airport), who has been listening to our conversation, planes have been hijacked by the least suspected individuals. For example, on 30 April 1982, a 12-person group of staid individuals hijacked a plane to West Berlin, taking several small children with them. The signal to attack the security personnel on board was given when one of the children went to the restroom. A fight ensued, at which time one of the hijackers shot at an officer with a concealed gun. He missed, but the bullet penetrated the wall of the aircraft, and only through sheer luck was decompression and explosion of the plane avoided. No one would have survived this. You see, then, that the hijackers are ruthless and prepared to risk the lives of their own children in order to accomplish their insane intentions.

We must be equally decisive in observing the laws which obligate us to take any dangerous articles away from passengers. Numerous protests arise when we demand that beverages, perfume, nail polish bottles, etc., be checked in the baggage compartment. After all, in 1978 a hijacking was attempted by an individual who threatened a flight attendant with a broken bottleneck.

We forbid the carrying on board of any liquids, because of the incident in which a liquid resembling tea was in fact a caustic acid which could have started a fire.

If we do not frustrate the efforts of the skyjackers here on the ground, then we jeopardize the lives of all those aboard the aircraft, despite the presence of the air marshals composed of very well-trained militia. Any action in flight, although at times necessary, can have incalculable consequences. Therefore, please do not be surprised when we search everyone so carefully, even the pilots, remembering that in February 1982 a pilot was one of those who hijacked a plane to West Berlin.

The passengers feel, however, that the security check represents the militia's desire to vent their anger on innocent individuals. The complaints of this elderly gentleman who was flying to Wroclaw were minor. Some others create scenes, calling us sexual deviants and threatening us with serious consequences since they have powerful friends.

At times, however, such distinguished gentlemen or even women carrying children unwittingly assist the hijacker in smuggling a pistol or grenade on board. This happened in 1970 when a plane was hijacked from Gdansk to Copenhagen. A hijacker placed a pistol in a baby's diaper while helping a woman with the child. Women with children are not searched, and besides we did not have metal detectors at that time. While playing with the child, the man removed the pistol and then proceeded to terrorize the flight attendant.

Grenades have been smuggled aboard concealed in cameras and transistor radios. After all, there are numerous metal parts in a radio, and in order to convince

ourselves that they do not conceal a pistol or explosive device we would have to take everything apart. Who would do that? Therefore, we order that everything that can be should be stowed in the baggage compartment. Again, in these situations we have to listen to numerous complaints.

Despite detailed searches rigorously observed since the initiation of martial law, hijackings have occurred.

This means that the search is not thorough enough, says Officer H. Rezler. But jokes aside, we do not want the passengers to board the aircraft without any clothing, since only this would constitute a 100 percent certainty that the individual is carrying nothing. In any case, there is always a chance of error or oversight whenever human beings are concerned. From 3,000 to 5,000 passengers pass through the airport daily, and they must all be searched. The militia officer on duty searches 400 to 500 persons on the average. He can make a mistake; fortunately, however, such an error has not been made since November 1982.

And if hijackers are successful in boarding with concealed weapons?

Captain Jerzy Dziewulski, chief of the special anti-skyjacking team, will be able to tell you more on the subject.

I find Captain J. Dziewulski on the airport apron where he is practicing karate strikes, jumping into a plane which is taking off, and methods for subduing a hijacker on an aircraft, with a 10-person team. What they are able to do can be seen in the photos taken by our photoreporter. They perform every exercise with maximum concentration. One does not see a smile on their faces following a successful strike or jump. The exercises are no games. An attack upon a colleague who pretends to be the hijacker is carried out without making any allowances. Each one strikes as if this were the real hijacker. Customarily the best in the group plays the hijacker, since only he will be capable of avoiding the blows or protecting himself at the last moment.

Captain, even Bruce Lee sometimes smiled following a successful fight, while your subordinates remind one of cold and ruthless robots programmed to overpower the opponent as quickly as possible.

This is not a school of martial arts, but it is their everyday job. When they stand face to face on a plane with a hijacker armed with a knife, pistol, or grenade they are fighting not only for their own lives, but also for those of the passengers and crew. The smallest mistake can lead to catastrophe.

They perform these exercises several dozen times. Perhaps the term "ruthless robots" overly dehumanizes these men, yet it fulfills to a certain degree the goal for which we strive during training. They must be as precise, ruthless, and decisive toward everything as the hijackers are ruthless. They exert the maximum energy for each exercise since they realize that the hijacker who is risking the lives of dozens of passengers will not hesitate to kill anyone who attempts to stop him. Therefore, they do not need to be encouraged.

Following a skyjacking by a pilot and a team member, we became convinced that no one could be trusted. That is why we check the passengers and pilots so thoroughly. No civil aircraft have been hijacked since November 1982.

How do you recruit individuals for the special team, who are referred to as "tigers" in militia jargon?

They must have at least a secondary school education, military service, the appropriate physical ability, and strong character in order to withstand the 2-year training and to pass all the examinations. The training which we conduct together with the special group of the Capital Office of Internal Affairs, headed by Major Edward Misztal, encompasses among other things all aspects of marksmanship: while running, marching, swimming, jumping from heights; jumping into the water from a helicopter, and sliding down a cable from a tower (in order to overcome a fear of heights). In addition to this, of course, karate, judo, and side arms training. They must then pass exams after 2 years, and that's not all. Everyone on the special team votes on whether or not each candidate is suited for the job. Quite simply, they must have complete confidence in each other. There can be no doubts because the stakes are the highest during the neutralization of the hijacker.

From 1969 to November 1982, the Polish Airline LOT suffered 38 hijackings, that is to say that an armed assailant managed to terrorize the crew. Seven hijackings were prevented by the special team at the airport, while four were stopped by the flying team. I think that these statistics are good, and tend to confirm the professional abilities of these men. A hijacker cannot feel safe even when he manages to get by the ground checkpoint.

I would, however, like to stress that our intercessions only take place in extreme situations. The basic obligation for providing a safe flight rests with the ground personnel. Attempts at hijacking must be eradicated at the source. Therefore, prospective passengers are observed as soon as they leave the airport bus, in the waiting lounge, during ticket purchases, before boarding, and later also in the boarding lounge. All suspicious behavior by any individual or group is a signal for plainclothes officials to check them out. We cannot wait until the last moment and tempt fate. If only the passengers would demonstrate more understanding for our concern for their safety.

12229  
CSO: 2600/119

AUTHOR CRITICIZES NATURE OF SCHAFF POLEMIC

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish No 222, 20 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Augustyn]

[Text] Last spring Prof Adam Schaff, in the weekly TU I TERAZ, came out with an article titled "A Crisis of Marxism or Marxists?" In so doing, he provoked a polemic which, although perhaps not the greatest or the most interesting, was the likes of which had not been seen in journalism for a long time, and among Marxists for at least 25 years.

The merits of this polemic will be assessed by institutions or more competent persons. For my part, I should like to share my feelings as those of an observer who is not on either side of the polemicists but is within the ranks of the activists of the ideological front, those who for years have been waiting for a solid, scientific basis for their opinions and positions, for their popularization work which they must conduct under increasingly more difficult conditions. I probably lack the qualifications to assess the substantive potential of our Marxist intellect shown in this polemic, but I suspect that the form of the polemic entitles me to draw some pessimistic, unfortunately, conclusions on not just the form alone.

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Prof Adam Schaff, in case anyone has not heard of him before, is a controversial figure, and not just as a scholar. His opponents accuse him of having been a galling dogmatist during the stalinist period, one who did not tolerate any doubt as to the doctrines then in effect; that as head of the INS [Institute of Social Sciences] he trained a large group of Marxists, who after 1968 went into the ranks of the western anticomunists; that he, too, after this date, evolved so far in his views that many of his adversaries have no doubts as to his ideological identity. On the other hand, professor Schaff is a man of considerable scholarly achievements which have brought him large distinction, and not just in the west. After a silence lasting a dozen or so years (allegedly because of harassment) he "answered the call", as he himself puts it, in December 1981, in order to defend Marxist theory against the charge that it has become bankrupt. In the article that initiated the polemic he maintains that it was not Marxism that discredited itself, but the Marxists, who did not listen to Marx but made

a revolution where they should not have, and so everything that real socialism accomplished so far is the result of a mistake and cannot be taken as an argument against Marxism. And so although the professor seems to be cheering us up, saying that there is something to fight for; that Marxist theory, despite everything, has preserved its scientific fecundity; and that in the west it even seems to be stronger than ever before--at the same time he strikes out almost all of the achievements of past socialist practice.

I have summarized all of this extremely succinctly, but the subject of the dispute has no real meaning here. The polemicists, at least their main forces, are not arguing with the opinion that Marxism will survive. As a matter of fact, not many of them were able to make a solid, scientific defense of the real socialism which Schaff struck out. In general, if we include in this assessment several authors who undertook a discussion without violating the rules of the game (and, by the way, mercilessly revealed the defects in Schaff's logic), the polemicists give the impression that they started out not just to deny, but in presenting the entire arsenal of sins against not simply the scholar's ethics, but also against the elementary rules of good taste, it was as if they wanted to show us that the thesis about the crisis of marxists was correct. Looking at such a result of Schaff's provocation, I am beginning to guess that maybe he returned not to answer a call (of the fallen?) but simply to deride not just the knowledge but also the political astuteness of those whom he knew would not be able to withstand his provocation.

For, after all, what do we observe in this polemic if we want to learn how it is with this Marxism? We learn very quickly that the dispute ceases to be the main subject. Well, that, too, happens in polemics. But not everyone pays attention to the side issues, either. On the other hand, they polemicize with other articles, even those not published in Poland--if we can call a one-sentence epithet, that a book "is a frontal attack on socialism", a polemic. It turns out further on that the polemic not only departed from the main subject to side ones, not only to Schaff's earlier views, but actually to the person of the author himself. Here the polemicists' emotions reach their zenith--from behind the facade of large words emerges a mean-spirited envy. Even the respected professor from Lublin who thought of not polemicizing with the merits of the case but with the methods with which Schaff conducted himself with his polemicists--himself shows an example of rather doubtful manners when he calls the viewpoints of his adversary "farting upwind", and his adversary himself "an ideological dowser". Yet another polemicist (with diplomatic service) distinctly belies his diplomatic qualifications in both the tone and the language of his utterance and subjects his educational qualifications to ridicule by referring, as proof, to a document that he himself never saw but heard about years ago, but that someone else saw (which the person referred to denied). In order to discredit the author, the sins of his scientific and political youth, committed 30 years ago, even the very trifling ones, but recalled in detail, were scrupulously enumerated. Once more the change-in-viewpoint device was proven to be vital, despite its primitive lack of logic--that at one time this was said, and that now something else is being said (as if a change in opinion is always a regression and that unchangeability is everlasting rightness). Frequently, also, the author's intentions were subjected to doubt, in accordance with the age-old method of "what is behind this". There are those

who have no doubt that connections with scientific circles in the West excuse them from having to furnish proof of the incorrectness of his viewpoints. Really, the only thing that this group of polemicists (unfortunately the largest group numerically) can take credit for is that they did not look into the author's trousers, did not assess the shape of his nose, and did not employ epithets such as "spit-soiled gnome of reaction" or "cuckoo's egg of imperialism". The arsenal of devices has changed somewhat, but the spirit of this polemic goes back to the times of dogmatic sectarianism, which Adam Schaff, most obviously rose above, but which cannot be said, unfortunately, about many of his polemicists.

One of them expressed himself on the subject of Schaff's articles in an argumentative and browbeating manner, but he did not employ any underhanded devices even when he quite unnecessarily conjectures about Schaff's intentions. He writes: "We have case here which can be classified as the psychological problem of an author, an artist. For an artist, as we know, there is no greater problem than another artist (...). Thus it was this stance of an author which foredoomed the presentation of such an improbable political construction." I would willingly agree with such a version (if we accept the fact that in a scientific dispute it is proper to question intentions other than those of a cognitive nature). A passage of this type can even add color to a polemic (it is justified inasmuch as many examples of importunate, indeed artistic, vainness can be found in Schaff's publications. But immediately after this elegant epithet we read: "Because as to the fact that this construction is anticommunist in its political significance, I have no doubts."

And that is how the official mentality of the polemicist revealed itself. It was not enough that the adversary was oppressed substantively and "artistically", it was necessary to apply an official label to him. Someday I would like to see the day when scientific viewpoints will be classified by only two labels: true, or untrue. I understand the requirements of vigilance, but I dream that finally it will be obvious to everyone that untrue viewpoints cannot be useful to communism and that half-truths and dogmas are also damaging, even if they are voiced by a politically-declared, uncontroversial author. Just as the artistic tendencies mentioned do not have to appear only in the opponent, an objectively damaging expression of opinions or actions can also befall people who were never in the West and never had any trouble with the authorities.

This can occur, for example, in the case of an unhealthy defense of totally correct reasons, with even the purest of intentions. Yet these latter are very rarely labeled, and their intentions are questioned even more rarely. And are they always honest simply because they do not attack our positions?

So that no one should accuse me of defending Schaff or his viewpoints (although I think that some of them are correct), I must say that the question that he asks ("A Crisis of Marxism or Marxists?") is, for me, a sham question, to say nothing of a sophism. Not only because it reminds me of the argument from kindergarten: this is not me--this is my hand, but mainly because taking the trouble to answer it makes little sense. That is, it would be well, of course, to be sure that Marxism is alive, despite the mistakes of practice, but since we know that only social practice is the final determinant of the correctness

of social theory, we know that it cannot be overthrown or defended in an implied way, a way that is apart from practice. And so blaming Marxists for mistakes and deviations from theory also cannot take place in an unlimited abstraction. At the very least the practical conditions for implementation of this theory must be noted, and it should be possible--although this may be sacrilege--to improve the theory based on practical experience. But professor Schaff seems to be so engrossed in the Scriptures that he is entertaining himself with settling what is, and what is not, "early Marx", and even tells us to believe that his (Schaff's) discovery that this or that word from these Scriptures was badly translated from German may accomplish a radical change in today's reading of Marx. That is, that the fate of history was determined by a less-than-conscientious translator? It really surprises me, actually frightens me, that history is being accused of permitting a revolution to take place in Russia prematurely, despite the fact that it was told clearly where and when it was to occur. For me this is a game, forgive the bluntness, for old, bored men who have already lost their chance at practice and therefore are entertaining themselves at unrestrained theorization, hair-splitting, and academic discussions. Maybe I would not be so hard on these Marxist luminaries--after all, I know that I cannot compare with them in a possible polemic--but I do have the right to require at least some kind of basic seriousness from my party comrades. What do I care that in March 1968 one of the polemicists yelled "Gierek, Gierek"? Is this a dispute about reason or a dispute about chairs? Do we really have to end every discussion--before we even get it going well--with name-calling? Does it always have to be that when we add our opinion to a dispute we must take the chance that we will not only lose the argument but that we will actually lose honor and faith? I really see no great difference in the level of political courtesy between the polemicists discussed here (including Professor Schaff because he, too, did not refrain from below-the-belt personal attacks) and the boo'ers and whistlers in the Gdansk Shipyards hall at the meeting with M. Rakowski. Perhaps only the difference that those from the shipyard showed their present political primitivism, while those with diplomas showed that it cannot be otherwise and will still be so for a long time to come. Because from whom are the masses supposed to learn this political culture? And after all, political culture, good manners, is scarcely an introduction, a ticket to political thinking, which is a long way from Marxism. And so how is--and I am not speaking about a worker here, but a party activist, a propagandist, i.e., a reader of TU I TERAZ, supposed to attempt to take this road? How is one supposed to be unafraid, when either there is brawling, or bantering on matters of little importance, quarreling, quibbling, and the entire, without exception, well-known, repertory of obscurantism. He does not have to have a diploma to be able to evaluate this type of demonstration for what it really is. And it is no wonder that in the end he either shrugs his shoulders, discouraged, or becomes an anti-intellectual, or again succumbs to the catchy slogans of the proletarian cult. In any case, this will not make his life any easier.

I would not want to heighten the criticism of our Marxists with the reminder about how many of these theoretically unsolved ideological problems were pointed out to them by the PZPR Ninth Congress. I think that the forthcoming 13th Plenum of the Central Committee will assess their activeness more competently. But I am afraid that if the Marxist-scholar community treats us once more to a similar mishmash it will not even be left with the strong argument that during the past periods the ideologues were not appreciated, and were even impeded in their creative drive. And if they specialized only in zealous hurling of anathemas, quarreling with others, then maybe they are getting what they deserve.

LAW ON PLEDGE-CONTRACT SYSTEM FOR WORKERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 51, 9 Jul 83 pp 7-10

Law No 3 of 1 July 1983 on the Pledge Contract

[Text] Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 3 of 1 July 1983 on the Pledge Contract.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Chairman  
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 9 July 1983.

Law  
on the Pledge Contract

The development of the property of the whole populace, under the conditions of the improvement of the working-class democracy's organizational framework for direct participation by the masses in running the economy, on the basis of the principles of self-administration and worker self-management, requires the further strengthening of the responsibility of the working people and the collective leadership bodies for the better management and utilization of all resources, the raising of economic efficiency and the growth of national income, the sole source of economic and social progress and of growth in the standard of living of the working people.

To this end, it is necessary that the holdings of the socialist units be entrusted, on a contractual basis, to the working people in the units, who, as owners of the means of production and, at the same time, producers and beneficiaries of the material and spiritual values, bear the entire responsibility for the direct and effective management of each unit, for the proper administration of all material and financial means entrusted from the property of the whole populace.

The state, as general administrator of the property of the whole populace, provides for the implementation of the policy of planned economic and social

development of the country and the supervision of the manner of administering the holdings entrusted to the staffs of working people, so that all units may perform their activity according to the economic principles of efficiency and profitability.

In order to regulate the legal framework for entrusting the holdings of the socialist units to the staffs of working people and for strengthening, on this basis, the prerogatives and responsibilities that devolve upon them from their capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

### Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. In order to strengthen worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration and increase the responsibility of the staffs of working people, of the collective leadership bodies in enterprises, centrals, ministries and other central bodies, and of the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, in developing and protecting the property of the whole populace, sensibly and efficiently administering all the entrusted assets and performing the tasks that devolve upon them from the sole national plan for economic and social development, there is instituted, under the conditions of the present law, the pledge contract.

Article 2. The pledge contract is concluded between:

- a) The state, as general administrator of the property of the whole populace--represented by ministries or central or local bodies under whose subordination the enterprises and centrals operate--and the staffs of working people in these units;
- b) The state--represented, on the authorization of the State Council, by the prime minister of the government--and ministries, other central bodies or executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest.

Article 3. Through the pledge contract between the state and the staffs of working people in enterprises and centrals, the holdings of these units--an integral part of the property of the whole populace--are entrusted to the working people, with a view to the direct exercise of the prerogatives and responsibilities that result from the working people's capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries.

The pledge contract establishes the obligations and responsibilities of each staff of working people regarding the preservation and development of the entrusted holdings, the proper administration of the material and financial means and the fulfillment of the plan targets, with a view to obtaining higher efficiency, which would provide for the complete coverage of expenses from incomes, the formation of the unit's own funds, and participation to as great an extent as possible in satisfying the general needs of the economy.

Article 4. The pledge contract between the state and ministries, other central bodies or executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, as administrators of the holdings of the subordinate socialist units, establishes their obligation to act continually regarding the maximally efficient utilization of the technical and production potential of the respective units, the better utilization of resources, the assimilation of new products and the introduction of advanced technologies, the providing of the supply and sale of production, the raising of the efficiency of exports, the complete fulfillment of the plan targets on schedule, and the protection and development of the holdings entrusted to the working people in the units.

Article 5. The working people's councils in enterprises and centrals are obligated to establish the measures needed for administering the entrusted holdings with maximum efficiency, precisely applying the provisions of the pledge contract, and providing the technical, organizational and economic conditions for fulfilling the plan in all sectors of activity.

Periodically, along with the discussion of the fulfillment of the provisions in the sole national plan and in the income and expense budget in the working people's councils and the working people's general assemblies in enterprises and centrals, the manner in which the obligations and responsibilities that result from the pledge contract will also be analyzed, with measures being established for administering the holdings of the unit with maximum efficiency.

In the ministries and other central bodies and in the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, the analysis of the manner of fulfilling the provisions of the pledge contract is made in their management councils and the executive committees, respectively, taking into account the conclusions and the decisions adopted by the general assemblies in the subordinate enterprises and centrals.

Article 6. Each working person, on being hired by a socialist unit, will sign an individual pledge containing the obligations that devolve upon him from the pledge contract regarding the exemplary fulfillment of the production tasks, the observance of the technological and labor-discipline standards, the use of machinery and equipment and all fixed assets with high efficiency, the efficient utilization of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy and the raising of the quality of the products, and the obligation to militate continually for the strict application and observance of the party decisions and the country's laws.

The ministers, the other heads of central or local bodies, the directors general of centrals and the directors of enterprises will sign an individual pledge through which they assume the responsibility for the administration and management of the entrusted holdings, the administration of the material and financial means with maximum efficiency, and the strict application of the party decisions and the laws.

Article 7. The content of the pledge contract for enterprises, centrals, ministries, other central bodies and executive committees of the county people's councils or that of the municipality of Bucharest, and of the individual pledges, is approved by means of a decree of the State Council.

## Chapter II

### The Conclusion of the Pledge Contract, the Obligations and Responsibilities of the Parties

#### Section I

##### The Pledge Contract Between the State and the Staffs of Working People in Enterprises and Centrals

Article 8. The pledge contract between the state and the staff of working people in enterprises and centrals will contain the obligations that devolve upon the worker personnel regarding the proper management and development of the entrusted holdings, on the basis of the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration. Mainly the following will be included in the contract:

- a) The utilization of the entrusted material and monetary means with maximum efficiency, the complete fulfillment of the plan targets, the introduction of technical progress and the raising of the quality of production, the reduction of the consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy and the raising of the degree of utilization of reusable materials, the providing of the supply and sale of production, the raising of the efficiency of exports and of the profitability of all products and services and, on this basis, the self-financing of the entire activity;
- b) The faster growth of labor productivity than of pay, so as to provide both the funds needed to raise pay and the resources for meeting the general expenses of the state;
- c) The sensible utilization of the work force, the limitation of the number of personnel to the bare essentials, the improvement of the professional training of the worker personnel, and the strict observance of order and discipline in labor;
- d) The use of their own funds and other monetary funds only in conformity with the plan provisions and those of the income and expense budget, in strict compliance with the legal provisions;
- e) The development of the holdings, the restitution of the funds gotten from society, the formation of the other funds stipulated by law, and participation to as great an extent as possible in the general progress of society.

The pledge contract regarding the entrusting of the holdings of the central will contain both the obligations that devolve upon the worker personnel regarding the proper administration and development of them, including those found under the self-administration of the component units without a juridical personality, and the obligations referring to the coordination, guidance, supervision and support of the activity of the subordinate enterprises.

Article 9. The working people's council is directly responsible for establishing the measures needed to sensibly administer the entrusted holdings, for utilizing with maximum efficiency the entire technical and production potential of

the unit, and for fulfilling all obligations resulting from the pledge contract with regard to the state.

The executive bureau of the working people's council, as collective administrator of the holdings entrusted in accordance with the pledge contract, provides for the implementation of the decisions of the working people's council and is directly responsible for taking the steps needed to utilize the material and financial funds, in strict compliance with the purposes established by means of the plan and the income and expense budget and with the legal provisions.

Through the individual pledge, the director of the enterprise and, as the case may be, the director general of the central, chairman of the executive bureau of the working people's council, assume the direct responsibility of administering the entire holdings of the unit and for applying the measures needed in order to fulfill the plan targets, to strengthen the order and discipline at each workplace, to comply with the party decisions and the country's laws, and to precisely fulfill all obligations resulting from the pledge contract.

The working people's council, its executive bureau, the director of the enterprise and the director general of the central are responsible to the working people's general assembly, the highest forum of the owners and producers, for the manner of administering the entrusted holdings and fulfilling all obligations that devolve upon the staff of working people from the pledge contract.

The working people's general assembly, on the basis of the report of the working people's council, analyzes the situation of the fulfillment of the provisions of the pledge contract, establishing the measures needed to more firmly apply the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration and the socialist principles of remuneration and to raise economic efficiency.

Article 10. The working people, as producers, owners and beneficiaries, are responsible for the direct and effective management of the units, for the preservation, development and protection of the entrusted holdings, for the sensible administration of them and for the economic results obtained.

Each working person has the right and obligation to give his opinion on all matters that involve the proper performance of the activity, the improvement of it, and the work of the management bodies, participating directly in the preparation, adoption and fulfillment of the decisions. The newly hired working people have the capacity of associate members of the staff, with the right to a voice but no vote.

In relation to the participation in fulfilling the plan targets and to the economic and financial results obtained, the working people benefit from all rights provided by law for the work done.

The executive bureau of the working people's council has the obligation to provide the conditions needed to fulfill the plan targets, so that the worker personnel can benefit fully from the pay and the other rights established in accordance with the law.

Article 11. The ministry or central or local body that concluded the pledge contract as a representative of the state is responsible for solving the general problems regarding the preparation and fulfillment of the plan targets and guiding and overseeing the activity of administration, by the staff of working people, of the holdings entrusted in accordance with the pledge contract.

## Section II

### The Pledge Contract Between the State and Ministries, Other Central Bodies or Executive Committees of the County People's Councils and That of the Municipality of Bucharest

Article 12. Through the pledge contract between the state and the ministry or other central body and through the pledge contract between the state and the executive committee of the county people's council or that of the municipality of Bucharest, there are established the obligations and responsibilities that devolve upon the ministries and the other central or local bodies, as administrators of the holdings of the subordinate units, with regard to:

- a) The maximally efficient utilization of the technical and production potential of all subordinate units and the management of their economic activity by means of the plan;
- b) The better utilization of material resources, the assimilation of new products and the introduction of advanced technologies, the full use of production capacities, the sensible administration of resources, the reduction of consumptions, and the raising of the degree of utilization of reusable materials;
- c) The raising of labor productivity and the improvement of the quality and competitiveness of products and services, of their profitability and of the efficiency of exports, with a view to continually strengthening the economic and financial self-administration in all subordinate units;
- d) The rational and efficient utilization of the work force, the coordination of the activity of organizing production and labor and providing personnel, and the improvement of the professional training of the worker personnel;
- e) The organization and performance of the supervision in all subordinate units and the establishment of the measures needed to eliminate the deficiencies found and to strengthen the order and discipline in each unit.

Article 13. The management council of the ministry or other central body or, respectively, the executive committee of the county people's council or that of the municipality of Bucharest, in its entirety, and each particular member are directly responsible for the fulfillment of the obligations assumed through the pledge contract concluded in accordance with Article 12.

Article 14. Through the individual pledge, the minister, the head of the central body or the chairman of the executive committee of the county people's council or that of the municipality of Bucharest assumes the direct responsibility for the implementation of the policy of the party and state in the field of activity that it coordinates, the fulfillment of the plan targets, the strengthening of the self-management and self-administration in all units

subordinate to the respective body, and the precise observance of the party decisions and the country's laws.

### Chapter III Final Provisions

Article 15. The provisions of the present law apply accordingly to state institutions.

Article 16. The worker personnel existing in the units on the date of the conclusion of the pledge contract will sign the individual pledge within 30 days after the conclusion of this contract.

Article 17. The newly hired worker personnel have the obligation to work in the unit for at least 5 years, under the conditions provided in the pledge contract. During this period, the worker personnel have the capacity of associate members of the work staff.

The socialist units have the obligation to provide for the professional training of the associate members and the improvement of their professional training in relation to the qualifications and to the rights provided by law.

The associate members receive 50 percent of the sums that are due them from the fund for participation in the achievement of production and profits and in the sharing of profits and the difference is deposited in the CEC /Savings and Loan Bank/ on their behalf, with it being released at the end of the 5-year period.

In the case in which the associate members leave the unit before the passage of the 5-year period, on their own initiative, without justification, or as a result of the cancellation of the work contract for reasons that are imputable to them, they have the obligation to pay the expenses incurred by the unit for their professional training and the unit's other expenses from which they benefited free of charge in the respective period; in addition, the associate members lose the right to receive the sum deposited in the CEC in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

After the passage of the 5-year period, the associate members become members with full rights, a capacity in which they will be able to elect and to be elected to the collective leadership bodies; the personnel in the management will be recruited only from the members with full rights.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 1 July 1983.

Chairman  
of the Grand National Assembly,  
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 1 July 1983.  
No 3.

12105  
CSO: 2700/16

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CIVIL AVIATION DEPARTMENT TRANSFER--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that, as of the date of the present decree, the Department of Civil Aviation is transferred from the Council of Ministers to the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, keeping the current organization and functions. Within 10 days of the date of the present decree, the Council of Ministers will present proposals for the modification of the decree on the organization and operation of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 23 Sep 83 p 1]

NEW CIVIL AVIATION CHIEF--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Major General Aurel Raican is relieved of his position as head of the Department of Civil Aviation. Comrade Major General (in the air force) Nicolae Dumitru Puiu is appointed head of the Department of Civil Aviation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 23 Sep 83 p 2]

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petre Duminica is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Giurgiu County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 23 Sep 83 p 2]

CSO: 2700/36

YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON TRIP TO KOSOVO

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 Oct 83 p 4

Report by "cvk": "Impressions From Kosovo--A Region Full of Contradictions"

Text Kosovo, October 1983--Appearances, conversations and newspaper reports notwithstanding, the situation in the developing region of Kosovo in the south of Yugoslavia hardly gets any clearer for the observer. True, contradictions become more distinct, but this only makes the state of affairs even less comprehensible and puts further obstacles in the way of prognosis.

Two and a Half Years After the Unrest

The political leadership of the autonomous Province of Kosovo, which like the autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the north of the country is part of the Republic of Serbia, had invited foreign journalists accredited in Belgrade for a 2-day visit. A cleverly arranged program was to show that the political situation had again been "stabilized" to a large extent two and a half years after the bloody clashes between Albanian demonstrators (Albanians make up 77 percent of the population of Kosovo) and security forces assembled from all parts of Yugoslavia, and after the Albanian-Serbian polemics over the demand for a "Republic of Kosovo" voiced in Kosovo. Neither on the second anniversary of the unrest this spring nor at sports events, it was stated, had any "nationalist excesses" occurred in recent times. At the same time--whether planned by the hosts or not--the guests got the impression that events and developments had not curtailed the self-confidence of the Albanian population and leadership in this region. Some of the things which were reported about conditions in Kosovo and the situation of the Serbian minority there either in Yugoslavia in general or in Serbia in particular do not appear to jibe with reality. Nor does everything the journalists were told officially in Kosovo jibe with it.

In Pristina we visited the only factory in the Balkans manufacturing shock absorbers. Every Peugeot anywhere in the world, we were told, has shock absorbers made in this plant. In 1983 production has amounted to 3 million parts. Among the 1,400 workers Albanians predominate over Serbs and Montenegrins. It was emphasized that the "enemy" had not managed to disrupt production. Only nine workers had been expelled from the party organization of the enterprise because of participation in the spring 1981 demonstrations,

but none had been dismissed. True, 120 meetings had to be held after the unrest as part of the so-called process of differentiation. The problem of the "migration of Serbian families" from Kosovo, observed with concern by Serbia, had already existed before 1981, it was stated. All the more surprising was the appeal, delivered almost passionately, by the chairman of the workers council, an Albanian, to the "comrades in Serbia" not to give jobs so quickly to those resettling Serbia, because, although these people quite frequently claimed to be "unemployed" from Kosovo they were, however, urgently needed here.

In the smaller town of Pec we were shown an enterprise unique in Yugoslavia. About 10 years ago four brothers, their wives and one sister--all Serbians--founded a factory for spare parts which has developed into a well-functioning lucrative enterprise. Here too, they say, Serbian, Montenegrin and Albanian workers work side by side without any problems. Since the hiring of workers proceeds exclusively on the basis of qualifications, however, and purely commercial interests predominate and most of the 120 workers have "purchased" their jobs with their own savings, it is credible that influences "from outside" cannot easily have any effect. Other interesting details were the fact that first, the "private" factory enjoys the tax and sociopolitical protection of the local mayor, a Montenegrin--a concession extremely rare in Yugoslavia--and second the working conditions remind one of those in the West in the early days of industrialization.

#### Encounters at the University

Unusual details also emerged in conversation with the president and the vice president of the University of Pristina. After explaining the present situation at the university, where the unrest had started among the students 30 months ago, the president left the hall, and the journalists were able to continue the conversation with the vice presidents. Without beating about the bush the representative of the Medical Faculty, a Montenegrin, responding to a relevant question, declared that the professors from Tirana who had been invited to the university until 1981 had not engaged in any "hostile propaganda." This statement contradicts all official assertions which blamed this very propaganda for the "seduction" of Albanian college youth in Kosovo, using this as a reason for unleashing a violent campaign against neighboring Albania, which then resulted in the severance of academic relations between Pristina and Tirana.

The charge by party chief Ilija Kurteshi, made before the foreign journalists, that close cultural cooperation between Kosovo and Albania had not been reciprocated was also refuted by the vice presidents. They said that colleagues from Pristina had delivered guest lectures in Tirana but had not been integrated in the curriculum there. This was not unexpected however, since the university there had a better trained academic corps than the younger university in Pristina. Since the exchange between the two universities had been limited to fields of natural science, there had not been any opportunity whatever to conduct ideological propaganda. On the contrary, the guests from Albania had shown considerable interest in the Yugoslav system.

### Visit to the Patriarchate

A visit to the Patriarchate of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Pec was no less revealing. The solemn inauguration of the newly rebuilt patriarch's residence had been scheduled for a couple of days after the journalists' visit. The building had burned down a few days after the unrest in spring 1981. An official commission appointed to investigate the cause of the fire has not submitted any clear conclusion to the public to this day. Party chief Kurteshi has stated that the commission is "continuing its work." Church--and other Serbian--circles have stated long since that Albanian extremists were responsible for the deed, but that is by no means certain, for it can be in the interest of both Albanian and Serbian extremists to disturb the previous good Serbian-Albanian relations. For decades it was a thorn in the side of the Serbs that, at least after the all-powerful Serbian Minister of the Interior Rankovic had been toppled, Tito had given the green light to an expansion of the elbowroom of the Albanian minority in Kosovo (and the part of Kosovo formerly called Metohija, to which Pec belongs).

The day before the arrival of the journalists in Kosovo, a court in Pristina had sentenced a journalist belonging to the Albanian part of the population to 12 years in the penitentiary. Until his arrest--apparently in late 1981--he had been deputy secretary for information in the province. The indictment published in part in the Yugoslav papers was rather vague. He was alleged to have belonged to a "so-called Marxist-Leninist organization," to have visited the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, to have telephoned from Athens to Tirana and to have "abused his access to certain information." The replies by party chief Kurteshi concerning this case could not explain why the court had pronounced such a harsh sentence. As the journalists on Friday night boarded their plane back to Belgrade at the small airport of Pristina--a modernized and evidently well organized airport--a couple of bombs exploded in the center of the capital. Though the official news agency TANJUG reported this no more than a couple of hours later, the report was carried by the media only 4 days later. It said that "the police" were investigating.

The police are also investigating the background of "irredentist nationalist excesses" of fans from Kosovo at the soccer game of the First League in Belgrade the following Sunday. The "E-Ho" (the initials of Enver Hoxha) shouts by Kosovo Albanians in the stands of the stadium had led to a comment by TANJUG that the demonstration might lead to serious political "consequences."

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CSO: 2300/51

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY APPROVES 1984 SOCIAL PLAN

LD281001 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 27 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Oct (TANJUG)--Delegates of the Serbian Assembly today adopted a draft resolution on implementation of Serbia's social plan in the coming year, together with accompanying documents, and submitted them for public discussion. They also expressed support for the draft federal resolution and determined the draft of the changes and addendums to the law on internal affairs.

At the moment, Serbia wants to increase industrial production by 3 percent, provided energy, raw materials and reproduction materials are ensured, to increase exports to the areas with convertible foreign exchange by 20 percent and to increase agricultural production by 4 percent. In order to achieve these strategic development aims investments will have to be reduced further, with priority given to those investments which will increase exports and the production of energy and food. The portion of general and joint expenditure in the social product will have to be reduced more considerably. Present restrictions on expenditure will be retained but it is not intended to endanger the standard of living in a fundamental manner.

It is worth emphasizing that by 30 September, Serbia settled all its foreign liabilities. Next year, these liabilities will amount to \$1.2 billion which will engage 54 percent of foreign exchange income. Nevertheless, it will be 3 percent less than this year.

At the joint session, the delegates of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly reelected Dr Najdan Pasic as president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia.

During the interval, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke to the delegates about topical ideopolitical questions connected with the struggle to implement the long-term economic stabilization program.

In reply to delegates questions about irredentist attacks at the recent soccer game between Crvena Zvezda and Pristina in Belgrade, Radisav Stanojcic, deputy republican secretary for internal affairs, informed the delegates that the town secretariat for internal affairs has taken measures to identify the troublemakers against whom the necessary legal measures will be taken.

CSO: 2800/69

YUGOSLAVIA

SAWPY TO ASSESS DEDILJER'S THIRD VOLUME ON TITO

LD020014 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 1 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)--The final standpoints and assessments on the third volume of Dedijer's "New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito" are to be defined in the Coordination Committee of the SAWPY Federal Conference for Observing and Preserving the Name and Work of Comrade Tito. This was decided at today's session of the Coordination Committee of the Serbian SAWPY Republican Conference for Observing and Preserving the Name and Work of Comrade Tito following the initiative taken by the Rad publishing organization to publish the third volume of these contributions.

This stand regarding "competence" was adopted in view of the fact that the book's publication began in one republic and continued in another, and in light of the decision reached by the organs and organizations whose delegates comprise this Coordination Committee that in this specific case the proper place for final assessment was the relevant federal committee. In order to facilitate and speed up the work on this book, it was proposed to the publisher that the committee in the federal conference should be provided with the book's definitive text before publication.

At today's session, the committee was acquainted with decisions of the competent organs in Rad regarding the book's publication and with the views and observations of the two reviewers, Dr Dusan Bilandzic and Dr Andrej Jirm.

The delegates of the organs and organizations who make up the committee forwarded the view that the preparation of this third volume of Dedijer's book on Tito could continue, but that the publisher must ensure that all important observations by the reviewers must be respected and incorporated in the text. The editorial collegiate, the workers' and program council, communists and all the most responsible people in Rad are especially responsible for ensuring that the final text should not contain parts which distort the role of Comrade Tito or besmirch or belittle our revolution. The publisher must also take all necessary measures so that oversights and mistakes which occurred when the second volume of Dedijer's "New Contributions" was published--leading to negative political reactions and consequences--should not be repeated. Moreover, the view was expressed that it would be socially unacceptable if the publication of this book served personal publicity purposes.

The discussion also contained tones of polemic concerning not only Dedijer's book, but the broader context in which it is being published. Several participants in the discussion pointed to the serious nature of the observations made by the reviewers, particularly Dr Dusan Bilandzic, and also to the fact that he and others, out of a total of 16 reviewers, considered that the book should not be published with mere or fewer factual or methodological observations. Whatever the case, it is still early to say whether the "green light" for the book has been given, at least until it is clear to what extent the author has respected the reviewer's observations in his text. The publisher is to supply complete information on this as soon as possible.

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END